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# CONTENTS

## VOLUME IV., PART I.

ALBANIA PAST AND PRESENT. <i>By Miss M. Edith Durham</i>	PART I.	3
JAPAN'S PART IN THE WAR. <i>By Mr. N. Kato</i>		17

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## ALBANIA PAST AND PRESENT

By Miss M. EDITH DURHAM

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND presided at a meeting of the Society on December 13, 1916, when Miss M. Edith Durham read a paper on "Albania Past and Present," illustrated by lantern views. He said that Miss Durham was well known to them by name, and they were certain to learn a great deal pertinent to the position in the Balkans from her paper. Albania might be described as the bedrock of the Balkans.

Miss DURHAM said: Albania has a very long past, and a present that is heavy with pain and anxiety.

Of her present, the latest reports are that it is worse even than that of Belgium, that her men are being forced into the Austrian Army, and that the civil population is dying of starvation in many districts. Mr. Howard, an American missionary, whose report is the latest that I have, states that at least 150,000, largely women and children, have died of hunger and misery since this war began.

Other nations in Europe have now suffered for over two years. But it was in the summer of 1910 that the Albanians first made their bold rising and tried to win freedom from Young Turkish rule, and ever since then Albania has been almost incessantly plundered, harried, and devastated by foreign troops.

She has been the victim of the greed of many Powers. Turkish, Montenegrin, Serb, Greek, Bulgar, and Austrian armies have successively swept and plundered and slaughtered in Albania during the past five years. Of all war's victims, not even Poland is more to be pitied or is in greater need of help.

So much for the present. We will now turn to Albania's past. It is a very long past; Albania is, in fact, the bedrock of the Balkans. We can only here touch very briefly on the main points of her history.

In prehistoric times the Balkans were inhabited by a number of tribes, which appear to have been closely related as to blood. We first hear of them as Illyrians, Macedonians, Molossi, and so forth.

Illyria, whence sprang the modern Albania, was a large territory,

comprising all that is now known as Bosnia and the Herzegovina, Dalmatia (as far even as Trieste), Montenegro, a large part of modern Serbia, and the larger part of modern Albania. Farther south a closely related group of similar tribes formed a separate kingdom of Epirus. The ancient Illyrians had evidently a fairly high civilization. Masses of implements and ornaments have been found in the extensive cemeteries of Bosnia and Serbia, in graves that lie beneath those of the Romans, who afterwards invaded the country. And these implements show that the Illyrians were among the first to manufacture and use iron. It was probably carried thence to other places.

When we first hear of Illyria in history, it was strong enough to insult the Romans. The seafaring population of the coast harried and plundered Roman shipping, and Illyria's proud Queen, Teuta, returned a rude answer to Roman remonstrances. Possibly the fine seafaring qualities of the modern Dalmatian are in part due to his Illyrian pirate ancestry.

A Roman punitive expedition resulted in 230 B.C. At this time, as now, Scodra, which you probably know better as Scutari, was the capital. It, indeed, is one of the oldest capitals of Europe. And the people still call it by its old name, very slightly modified, Shkodra.

Of the difficulties the Romans had with the kingdom of Epirus, and of the exploits of King Pyrrhus, we have all heard at school. The Albanians still cherish his memory, and say that his name was Burrus, which means the warrior, or brave man. "*A je burre?*" ("How art thou, my brave?") is to-day the common greeting when one mountain-man meets another. I well remember the pride with which a Moslem Albanian gendarme, who was guiding me from Permeti to Tepelen, pointed up to the clouded mountain-top, and said that "Up there were the ruins of the castle of our great King Burrus, who beat the Romans and everyone else." And at the carnival masquerade at Scutari I saw Pyrrhuses in marvellous tin helmets fashioned by the local smith—the most admired of any of the masquers.

Plutarch tells us that the soldiers of Pyrrhus hailed him as the "eagle." Which is of great interest, for the Albanian does not call himself an Albanian, but Shkipetar (from *shkip*, an eagle), the people of the eagle. And his land is Shkiperia. The term "Albania" has been given by foreigners, and its origin is somewhat disputed. It probably derives from the name of a tribe in Central Albania—Arberia or Arbonia.

The word *liria* in modern Albanian means "free," and the Albanian of to-day translates Illyria to mean "the land of the free." Certainly no race has made a more continuous struggle for freedom throughout the ages than has the Albanian. Albanian history is one long tale of epic struggles against one invader after the other.

We have no time to detail the various invasions. But let us note

that, though each invader in turn has striven to crush the Albanian's individuality, none has as yet succeeded. He has clung with such tenacity to his national customs, his idea of race, and his language, that no Power has as yet assimilated him. All efforts to Slavize, Grecicize, or Ottomanize him have failed. The Romans did not succeed in subduing Illyria till A.D. 169, when they took Scodra, and forced the Illyrian King, Gentius, to march as prisoner in a Roman triumph.

Judging by the length of time which the Romans took to conquer Illyria, and also by the great amount of pre-Roman graves, the country must have been pretty thickly populated. And this aboriginal population has left its mark, for the ornaments found in quantities in these graves are in many cases almost precisely like those which are still worn by Balkan peasants. And in most parts the silversmith turns out usually to be either an Albanian or a Vlah, which points to a long and unbroken tradition.

Under the Romans, Illyria seems to have prospered. Rome found some of her best soldiers among the tribesmen, and more than one Emperor—Diocletian, Constantine the Great, and others of lesser note—were of native blood.

Christianity reached the Dalmatian coast as early as the first century, and had penetrated far inland by the fourth. The Albanians, in fact, claim to have been converted by St. Paul himself, who says: "Round about Illyria I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ." Be this as it may, Illyria early formed, and still forms, part of the patriarchate of Rome. And the Christians of the north, which includes almost the whole of the mountain tribes, have remained faithful to Rome ever since.

Scutari became an archbishopric as early as A.D. 307. The archbishopric was, however, transferred later to Antivari. But Scutari was continuously the seat of a Bishop till the nineteenth century, when it again became an archbishopric.

Under Rome, Illyria was dotted with Roman colonies, joined by roads, which were probably better than any that have since existed. Roman coins are still found in plenty in many places. Apollonia, on the coast rather to the north of Avlona, was a celebrated university, and was joined to Salonika by the Via Egnatia. The name Avlona, or Valona, is, in fact, merely a corruption of Apollonia.

We now come to the second period of Albanian history, the Slav period.

The Roman Illyrian civilization was rudely broken into and largely destroyed by the irruption into the peninsula, in the seventh century, of huge savage hordes, the ancestors of the modern Serbians. They were a tribal people, and were pagans. Coming in overpowering numbers, they drove the Roman civilization to the coasts, where

Roman influence is not yet dead, and possessed themselves of the fertile plains inland; for they were a nation of herdsmen.

The Albanians, as we may as well now call them, maintained their freedom and language in the mountains of the Albania of to-day. In the north—modern Bosnia, that is—the language died out; but it is very possible that we may still find traces of the old Illyrian population. In certain districts of Bosnia all the Roman Catholics are tattooed with strange devices. Now, tattooing has never been recorded as a Slavonic custom, whereas we are told by classical authors that tattooing was one of the peculiarities of the ancient Balkan tribes. The fact, therefore, that these people are tattooed, and are also members of the Church of Rome, looks like a direct tradition from very ancient times. It is strengthened by the fact that tattooing in similar designs is found also in many parts of Albania. Some of the tattoo patterns, moreover, resemble some of the ornaments found in the ancient graves.

Nor, indeed, is all trace of the Roman colonists gone. We find groups of what are known as Kutzo-Vlahs dotted about all through these lands. They speak a Latin dialect which resembles, but is not the same as, the Roumanian language. And in physical type they bear a strong resemblance to the darker type of Albanians. There is a particularly large group of them at Elbasan and at Ochrida, both of which were important points on the Roman Via Egnatia. They, in all probability, derive from the intermarriage of Romans with the native population. The Albanians seem to me to have an instinctive feeling of relationship with them. For I have been repeatedly told that "Vlahs have sweet blood," and that a "man need not mind giving a daughter in marriage to a Vlah," and also that "Vlah" is Albanian for "a brother."

The invading Slavs were pagan, and were not converted to Christianity till the ninth century—that is, some five hundred years after the Illyrians—and then by missionaries from Salonika. The differences which were later to make the two Christian Churches hate one another more than they did the Turk were already beginning to make themselves felt, and when the final split came the Serbs threw in their lot with Byzantium. Thus, as Serb power grew and spread over Illyria, or Albania, as we may as well call it now, the Roman Catholic Albanians suffered not only the woe of being invaded, but were also subjected to religious persecution. To race hatred was added religious hatred.

The Christians of the south, we may here mention, later, under the influence of Byzantium, went over to the Orthodox faith. But they have not forgotten the ties of blood, and remain in racial sympathy with their Catholic brethren. The north never wavered in its allegiance to Rome. Not one Orthodox is to be found among the Christian tribes of the north.

The Serbians formed their stronghold and centre on the fertile plains of Kosovo and the Metoya, for they were a nation of herdsmen. And they called this kingdom, not Serbia, but Rashia. This is a fact of great interest, for Rashia is an Albanian word meaning "a plain"—the kingdom, therefore, of the plain, possibly the name by which the original inhabitants called it.

The Nemanja Kings, who made Serbia, ruled from 1180 to 1356, and pushed farther and farther into Albania. They took and fortified Scutari, and strove, it would appear, to Slavize the people, but unsuccessfully.

In 1321 we find the Catholic Albanians appealing to Charles of Anjou and to Prince Filippo of Taranto to force King Milutin to recognize and respect their religious rights. And in 1332 a certain French friar, Frère Brocardus or Brochart, gives us an interesting contemporary account of the state of the country. He says: "There is, among other things; one which would make it easier to take this kingdom of Rashia. . . . There are two peoples, the Abbanois and the Latins, who both belong to the Church of Rome. The Latins have six cities, and as many Bishops—Anthibaie (Antivari), Cathare (Cattaro), Dulcedine (Dulcigno), Suacinense (?), Scutari, and Drivaste (now ruined completely). In these the Latins live. Outside the walls the Abbanois have four cities—Polat Major, Polat Minor (these are the modern tribal districts of Upper and Lower Pulati), Sabbate (Sappa), and Albanie (Elbassan and Durazzo district). They are all under the Archbishop of Anthibaie. These Abbanois have a language which is quite other than Latin, but use in their books the Latin letters. (What would we not give now for a book of that date!) Both of these people are oppressed under the very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. If they saw a Prince of France coming towards them, they would make him their leader against the accursed Slavs, the enemies of the truth and our faith." That the worthy Frère did not exaggerate is proved by the severity of the celebrated Canon of Laws enacted by the Serb Tsar, Stefan Dushan, in 1349.

During the twenty years of Dushan's reign—that is, from 1336 to 1356—all Albania formed part of the Serbian Empire. Dushan made special laws against the Catholics. For example, Law 6: As to the Latin heresy and those that draw Orthodox believers to its faith, the Ecclesiastical Authorities must strive to convert all such to the true faith. If such a one will not be converted, he shall be punished with death. The Orthodox Tsar must eradicate all heresy from his State. The property of all such as refuse conversion shall be confiscated. Heretical churches will be consecrated and opened for priests of the Orthodox faith. Law 8: If a Latin priest be found trying to convert a Christian to the Latin faith, he shall be punished with

## ALBANIA PAST AND PRESENT

death. And so forth. In truth, the Turk, with all his faults, has not treated the Christians so badly as one Christian sect has treated another.

I have dwelt at some length on this period because it has so much bearing on recent events. The Albanian since that time has never ceased to regard the Slav as his bitterest and cruellest foe, and the Slav, in turn, has preserved his mediæval way of dealing with the Albanian. During and after the first Balkan War the old laws of Stefan Dushan were pitilessly enforced. Hundreds of persons who refused to join the Orthodox Church were martyred, hundreds more were expelled and deprived of all they possessed.

Modern Balkan troubles are all built on early mediæval and pre-Turkish hatreds. And it is failure to recognize this important fact that has led us into some of the painful positions in which we now find ourselves.

We now come to the third period, the Turkish. Great Serbia was torn to pieces very shortly after Tsar Dushan's death by his nobles, who struggled for supremacy. It had lasted, indeed, barely two hundred years. Albania broke loose at once, and the names of many local chieftains have come down to us; but we have no time now to dwell on details, for we must pass on to the next great Balkan catastrophe—the coming of the Turks. Till this time the Balkan peoples had been wholly occupied fighting each other. The Greeks, in fact, invited the Turks to help them against the Slavs. In view of present-day events, it is of interest to note that ever since the Turk was first established in Europe the Balkan peoples have taken turns in aiding him against each other, instead of uniting to expel him. Not till the Turks were settled in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula and were marching westward in force did the Balkan peoples realize their danger. Then Lazar, who was Tsar of a very much reduced Serbia, collected together Bosniaks, Serbs, and Albanians, and led them against Sultan Murad's army on the plains of Kosovo. A long and fierce fight ensued, and the issue was doubtful till a Serb noble—the son-in-law, in fact, of Tsar Lazar himself—deserted to the enemy with his twelve thousand men—bribed, it is said, by offers of power. This act of Serb treachery established the Turk in Europe.

The Serbs accepted the son of the traitor as King under Turkish suzerainty. The Albanians, however, were far from submitting. They joined with the Venetians, who had been for some time past settling on the Adriatic coast and trading with the interior. Albanian-Venetian relations seem to have been good. The names of many powerful Albanian chiefs are found in Venetian records. Scutari and all the north was free from the Turks, but they penetrated South and Central Albania.



Then there arose an Albanian chieftain who has gained world-wide fame, George Castrioti, known as Skenderbeg, called in his day the "champion of Christendom." This remarkable man is one of the great warriors of history. Taken as a child from his father by the Turks as a hostage, he was brought up a soldier and a Moslem. He, however, threw over the Turks and their religion, and returned to his fatherland to Kroya, and was hailed by the Albanians as their leader. For twenty-four years he was continuously victorious. Two Sultans successively hurled larger and larger troops against him in vain. Murad II. came himself at the head of 40,000 men, and attempted to storm Kroya, but was repulsed, and had to retire discomfited.

Skenderbeg not only freed the land, but kept it free. His realm extended as far as Ochrida, and Dibra was one of his towns. I shall not forget the grief of the Albanians when they heard that Dibra, one of Skenderbeg's towns, had been given by the Powers of Europe to their secular enemy the Serbs. So long as Skenderbeg lived Albania was free. He died of fever in 1476, aged sixty-four, leaving no one who was great enough to take his place.

Skenderbeg dead, Venice could not hold out much longer. The Turks violently attacked Scutari, which was defended by combined Venetian and Albanian forces. Scutari fell in 1479, after a most bloody struggle.

When the new road was being built along the foot of the old citadel in 1911-12, I saw hundreds of old stone shot and cannon-balls dug out of the ground, the relics doubtless of that last great fight. And old Venetian bronze cannons stood in the citadel till 1913, when unfortunately they were looted by the Montenegrins.

Previous to the fall of Scutari, it is said that angels came and carried away the picture of the Madonna from the Church of Our Lady at the foot of the hill, and deposited it safely at Genzano, in Italy. Many a time have I assisted at the celebration of this festival, the greatest feast-day of Scutari, when the poor people—who are now starving—came joyfully from every mountain and village, glad and good-natured, in their best attire—a happy crowd, so orderly and so friendly. I think now sadly of the huge admiration they had for the Great Powers of Europe, their infinite faith in the goodwill of those Powers. And now they have been dragged into the hell created by those same Powers, and are dying as innocent victims.

When the Turks overpowered Albania, many Albanians fled into Italy, where some eighty Albanian villages are still in existence, and the Albanian language, customs, and costume are to a large extent preserved. For many years the Albanians hoped and hoped in vain for the help of their former friends and allies, the Venetians, against the Turks. But Venetian power, too, was on the wane. Venice lost



successively Durazzo, Dulcigno, and Antivari. The Albanians of the Mirdite and Dukagin mountains sent appeals for help in 1570, 1571, 1580, 1596, 1601, and 1616. Then they gave up hope.

From the beginning of the Turkish invasion they had succeeded in obtaining recognition of their tribal autonomy from the Turks. They now began in the seventeenth century to adopt Islam. Many Greeks and a very large number of Slavs had become Mahommedan as early as the fifteenth century. In the case of Albania one reason seems to have been the fact that the Christian Bishops of Albania were foreigners, and were mainly occupied in quarrelling with one another about the frontiers of their dioceses instead of looking after their flocks. "The hungry sheep looked up and were not fed." And a Moslem manger was no doubt ready for them. Thus in 1638 we find a violent dissension between the Bishop of Alessio and the Archbishop of Durazzo. And again, in 1703, no less than three Bishops were contending for the district of Postripa, and allowing no priest to officiate in it, till the quarrel was settled by Pope Clement XI., who sent a special legate for the purpose. Clement XI. was Albanian on his mother's side, and made a strong effort to aid the Catholic Albanians; but on his death Rome seems to have lost interest. Albania was largely served by foreign priests who had no understanding of the people.

The conversion to Islam of a large portion of the Albanians has had a disastrous effect on Albania. Though the Moslem Albanian is as tenaciously Albanian as ever, the fact that he is Moslem has caused ignorant outsiders to consider him a Turk. Islam has also had a retarding influence on education. But far from Islamism making the Albanian into a Turk, no sooner did the Moslem Albanian chiefs begin to gain power than they again began to assert themselves and make efforts for freedom. The Albanians had, indeed, been increasing in strength and flowing back on to the plains from which the Serbs had expelled or held in subjugation their ancestors.

The town of Djakova (of St. Giacomo, that is) was founded by an offshoot of the Christian tribe of Merturi. And when in 1690 the Serb population elected to emigrate to Austria, where they were given assistance and wide lands in the Banat, the mountain Albanian tribes resettled almost the whole of the district as far north as Mitrovitza and north-east to Nish and Uskub, and made scattered Albanian villages as far even as Monastir. They regained, in truth, a large part of their ancient Illyria. Nor did they submit to Turkish interference. Christian and Moslem alike united to preserve their ancient laws and customs. Much liberty was allowed them, and they gave, in return, military service.

So powerful, then, did the Albanian chiefs become that they struck out for complete independence. Ali Pasha, the ruler of the

south, whose capital was Janina, was, in fact, for years quite independent, and tried, and almost succeeded, in persuading England to support him. The Pasha of Scutari was almost as powerful. It was then that the Turks made a determined effort to subdue Albania once more. After stern fighting, they conquered Ali Pasha, now an old man, and slaughtered him and his family. South Albania then fell entirely under the Turk, and entered on a difficult period.

In order to kill national sentiment, the Turks then permitted the Greeks to open schools and work a propaganda. The Greeks in those days always worked with the Turks to destroy the racial and national spirit of the other subject races. The Pasha of Scutari was also badly beaten, though not wholly subdued. But the nation as a whole never forgot its traditions.

At the time of the Congress of Berlin—that fatal Congress at which the seeds of so many troubles were sown—the Albanians saw the other Balkan races obtaining European support and recognition, and formed the well-known Albanian League to protect their land and their rights and to beg also for recognition. Great Britain, it is interesting to find, was strongly in favour of forming a large Albanian province, to include the whole of the vilayets of Scutari and Janina and the larger part of Kosovo vilayet, with a portion of Monastir vilayet, too, and to grant it considerable autonomy with a view to future independence. Both Lord Goschen, then our Ambassador at Constantinople, and Sir Edmund Fitzmaurice worked hard for this end. Its formation would have obviated very many recent misfortunes. But the Powers were not unanimous on the subject, and all that was done was to recommend some such reforms to the Turks.

The Turks responded by arresting most of the heads of the League and executing or exiling them into Asia. Albania was in worse plight than ever. Turkish governors, and sometimes garrisons too, were put in the Albanian towns. But the Sultan did not wish for another national rising, and to propitiate the Albanians gave permission for Albanian schools, and consented to allow the language to be printed. A huge impetus was at once given to the national spirit. Especially in Koritza, in South Albania, was an active centre formed, to the anger of the Greek priests and propagandists. The Sultan then, seeing that national education would soon produce an Albania stronger than ever, and influenced, no doubt, too, by the Greeks, suddenly withdrew his consent, prohibited the printing of the language, and threw the unfortunate schoolmasters into prison.

When I first visited Koritza in 1904, its schoolmaster was still serving out his term of fifteen years' imprisonment. A similar term was the penalty for being found in possession of newspapers printed in Albanian. Newspapers were nevertheless printed abroad and secretly circulated, and the Koritza patriots, at great risk to themselves, continued working.

The Turkish Government had already given permission to the British and Foreign Bible Society to sell its publications in the Turkish Empire. The Albanians, therefore, made a translation of the Gospels and some of the books of the Old Testament. Albanian col-porteurs carried stocks of these around along with other publications. And the demand for twopenny copies of the Book of Genesis was amazing. I once assisted at the selling of seventy-four such books in one day. Almost all were bought by Mahommedans, some even by Albanian officers in the Turkish Army.

Thus, under shelter of Great Britain, Albania struggled towards national development, greatly hampered by the Greeks, who lost no opportunity of denouncing the secret readers and teachers of Albanian to the Turkish authorities. A Greek Bishop even went so far as excommunicating the language, and Greek priests told the people that it was useless to pray in Albanian, as Christ did not understand it.

At Koritza, however, under protection of America, the American Mission opened a girls' school. Its Albanian headmistress, one of the bravest women I know, ran the school successfully. The Turkish authorities searched vainly for Albanian books. She used English ones, and translated her lessons orally. Writing was destroyed as soon as finished when danger was suspected. The girls taught their brothers, and the school was a centre of culture and national feeling. I am very sorry to tell you that in the summer of 1914, just before the outbreak of the present war, this school, which had done splendid work for fifteen years, was pillaged and burnt by Greek invaders, who devastated and pillaged all the surrounding country. The school-mistress, after many adventures, is now safe in America, together with some sixty thousand Albanian refugees, whose centre is in Boston, and who are working earnestly with a view to reorganizing their country when peace is once more proclaimed. They publish a paper called *Illyria*, and are all engaged in various trades and manufactures. I hear that they are reckoned in America as very good and industrious citizens.

Nor was national education confined to the south. In Scutari also schools were opened both by the Austrians and the Italians and protected by them, and Scutari thus became the educational centre of the north.

To return to Albania's story. The Albanians, like many other people, hoped great things from the Young Turk revolution, and especially grasped at the promise of national equality and the freedom of the press. I was in Albania when that revolution took place. Never, perhaps, in the world's history has there been a greater outburst of national feeling than when freedom of the press was announced in Albania. Almost in a night crops of little newspapers

sprouted up. Albanian clubs were opened, Albanian schools formed. The nation at once collected money and opened the Normal school at Elbassan, which was to train teachers for all, and books were written and translated. The restrictions on the use of the Latin alphabet were cast aside. A national conference was held. The rush of children to the schools was such that there was not room for them. The Koritza schoolmistress wrote to me that Mahommedan girls were being sent to her from distant parts as boarders, and that she did not know where to stow them all.

It was a bright dream while it lasted, but all too soon shattered. The Turkish Government again intervened and forbade the use of the Latin alphabet, and began at once arresting and imprisoning editors and schoolmasters and closing the printing-presses, and ordered that Albanian, if printed, should be printed in Arabic characters—characters totally unsuited to a European language. Thousands of Arabic alphabets were printed and sent into Albania by the Turkish Government. The people collected them and burnt them in public at Berat.

The results of these and other oppressions were the Albanian revolutions of 1910-11-12—revolutions which the Young Turks put down with great severity, but which finally shook Young Turk rule to its foundations. And they paved the way for the Balkan wars of 1912-13.

Into quite recent politics it is, perhaps, better not to enter. We are too near the events for criticisms of our Allies or our foes to be desirable here. I will therefore only say that Albania as a whole remained neutral during those wars, and fought only in self-defence when attacked; that she was invaded and spoiled by three armies; that terrible atrocities were committed on Albanians; and that in the end her hopes were cruelly disappointed when, in response to her appeal for recognition, the Powers sent her a wholly incapable and incompetent German Prince, the Prince of Wied, who did not deign even to visit his land and subjects, but preferred to sit in his comfortable palace at Durazzo and tried to form a little imitation of a German Court. It is a disgrace to all who were concerned in the choice that such a man should have been appointed. And the unfortunate Albanians were at once made the prey of numerous and unscrupulous European intriguers.

We may be, however, allowed to hope, with the Albanians, that as the present war is being waged for the rights of small nationalities, Albania's day, too, will dawn, and that once again this oldest of European peoples will have her place in the sun. And all of us who know the Albanians' great possibilities, their intelligence, industry, and vigour, have no doubt that, if given a chance, they will ultimately succeed.

We will now look at a few views of the people and country.

The CHAIRMAN: Miss Durham has given us an exceedingly interesting and very instructive paper; but it contained one statement with which, I am sure, not one single person here will agree. She said that the very curious man-lady or lady-man she showed us on the screen "treated her with the contempt she deserved." You will all say, I know, that it is not contempt Miss Durham deserves, but very different feelings. She has nobly set herself to see and understand something of the trials this little state has had to go through in the past and what it is suffering at the present time. She finished her lecture by saying that she hoped a better day was dawning for Albania, and in this hope we earnestly join. In this war we are fighting for the freedom of smaller nationalities, and we certainly shall not fail in interest in and sympathy for Albania, after what Miss Durham has told us. We must admire from the bottom of our hearts the sturdiness with which the Albanians through all these centuries of oppression have stuck to their own individuality; and we may hope that in the years to come they may have that opportunity for which they are evidently panting to express that individuality to the full. There is one Albanian gentleman here this afternoon. He is rather modest in regard to his knowledge of English; but I am sure we would be only too lenient with him if he would very kindly speak to us.

The Albanian gentleman referred to said that Miss Durham had done more for his country than anyone he could think of. Her work had earned for her among the people the title of the "Queen of Albania." He trusted she would be able to continue to help them, and, as in the past, do everything she could for Albanian nationality.

Mr. H. W. NEVINSON said that, intensely interesting as the address had been to everyone there, it was, he thought, of most interest to himself, because he had had the privilege and honour of going through Albania with Miss Durham and under her auspices. Whenever her name was mentioned she was respectfully termed their Queen. He was interested in the slides of the most beautiful country he had ever seen, especially Northern Albania; and he was interested to see in one picture so fine a photograph of his own back, this being the first time he had seen it. He could not describe with what respect and honour Miss Durham had for many years now been regarded in Albania. He was charmed and overwhelmed by the welcome he always received when he mentioned her name. From her reflected glory he was sometimes called the King of Albania, because they all believed that Miss Durham and he had been sent out by King George to take over the government of the country. He would like to mention another thing which even Miss Durham did not know. When he was in Salonika last winter a large party of English nurses arrived, having fought their way with great difficulty through the Albanian

frontiers from the north of Serbia, accompanied by a small body of guides. They told him that as they journeyed they were received by the people (though they were in a state of semi-starvation) with the greatest enthusiasm and hospitality, simply because they belonged to the same nation as Miss Durham. That seemed to him a very fine tribute for any Englishwoman to receive, showing as it did how great her influence had been over a nation of tribes which were supposed to be so savage in the past.

We were engaged in this war for the protection and freedom of small nationalities. Our late Prime Minister announced at the very beginning of the war that that was one of our objects. What a disaster, what a crime it would be to Europe, if we allowed a small nationality like Albania, which had held together since the time of the Roman Empire, to be divided, as had been proposed, between its most intense enemies, the Serbians and the Greeks! Let us at all events resolve that whatever might be the protection or management Albania might require, it should be protected mainly as an independent State.

Dr. GASTER said that he had an Albanian nurse in his infancy at Bucharest, and ever since he had retained a love and admiration for the Albanians—the Scots of the Balkan Peninsula. He wished Miss Durham had told them a little more of her own achievements, not only to tell what she had done, but to bring out more clearly the character of these Albanians. The story would show their gratitude, simplicity, chivalry, and undaunted courage. It was his privilege to be a member of the Albanian Committee after the Balkan War, and he joined in trying to urge their claims upon the diplomatists of the British Government. They did not succeed to the extent they desired. He did not wish to enter upon politics; but he would say that if the concessions to the Albanians pressed at the time by people who knew the country had been made, they were convinced that a much better outlook would have been opened up for the Albanians. Perhaps even the situation in the Balkans would have been somewhat different to what it was now. The Albanians had suffered both in the north and the south by the oppressions of two implacable foes, the Serbians and the Greeks. It was the first necessity for them to have an independent status when the war was over. Most of the sailors of the Greek fleet were Albanians and most of the traders were Albanians, and the Greeks had a great dread and dislike of them. In the past they used the Turkish Power to destroy the Albanians, and now they were using other Powers for a similar purpose, and we had to see to it that they were not successful.

It was most interesting to watch the resource and determination of the Albanians in trying to develop a literature of their own. He was the possessor of some very good specimens of their efforts in this



direction during the last century. One of the oldest was a translation of the Gospels in parallel columns, one in Greek and the other in the Albanian language, but Greek characters. There were also translations in which the Latin alphabet was used, and there was a society in Bucharest which had invented another alphabet for use in Albania. Both Turkish and Italian were used in their books; so that altogether the Albanians had to relearn their written speech five times over. Yet in a marvellous way they persevered in trying to develop their literature and their language. It was to be hoped that in the future the impediments arbitrarily imposed on their aspirations would never be renewed, and they would have free scope to develop their literature and their country as they wished. Alexander the Great was reputed to have been an Albanian. They hoped that another Alexander might soon arise to be the instrument of giving these people the freedom they had so amply earned by their fidelity and their sufferings.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Miss Durham.

## JAPAN'S PART IN THE WAR

BY MR. N. KATO

At a meeting of the Society on January 17, 1917, Mr. N. Kato, the London editor of the *Mainichi*, read a paper on "Japan's Part in the War."

Colonel SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, who was in the chair, said the lecturer was in England as London editor of one of the chief papers in Japan. He was not only distinguished in his own country for his journalistic abilities, he was still better known as a philosopher. He was a man of very great distinction and learning and had made a special study of English life. Japan was far away from Central Asia, but he believed Mr. Kato would have to take them still further afield in explaining to them the very great and distinguished part Japan had taken in the war. It was a part which they in England had not understood and appreciated as fully as they should. But that evening they would be able to hear at first hand, from the Japanese point of view, the part that country had taken in the struggle.

Mr. Kato said: Very little is yet known to the British public of the part played by Japan in this war. This is, I believe, due not so much to a lack of appreciation as to the fact that Japan is so far from the main theatre of war. Before laying a few outstanding facts before your readers, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on the general attitude of Japan towards the great war.

In the September number of *The Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Robert Machray points out that there were three possible alternative steps for Japan to take at the outbreak of the war, other than that which she did pursue. He says, in the first place, that Japan might have proclaimed her neutrality and stood aside from the present war entirely; and in the second place, that she might have sat upon the fence, so to speak, and then gone over to what she thought the winning side; and thirdly (this is the most serious possibility, the writer says), that she might have from the beginning thrown in her lot with the Central Powers!



Now, such a speculation can be tolerated when it is indulged by anyone who is not a Japanese, but from the Japanese standpoint it is simply inconceivable. To proclaim her neutrality was, in my opinion, an impossibility for Japan, inasmuch as Great Britain did not proclaim her neutrality. For was not Japan the ally of Great Britain since 1902? And what is the use of an alliance if it could be cancelled in the very hour of need! Or, again, could Japan condescend to the mean practice of selling her honour to the highest bidder? Such a practice is incompatible with the spirit of *Bushido*, the moral code of the Japanese people. And lastly, the supposition that Japan might have thrown in her lot with the Central Powers is the most absurd of all; for even if there had been no Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan, by ranging herself by the side of Germany, would have run absolutely counter to her national policy of preserving peace in the Far East as well as the whole world. Could Japan have been blind to the obvious fact that this war was forced upon the Entente Powers by Germany's desire for world domination? Could she range herself with the Powers whose cause she knew was wrong and whose victory meant the menace to the future of civilization and humanity? In short, it was impossible for Japan to have taken any other course than that which she actually took, without forfeiting her national honour and prestige. She chose the only course left for her, and she did it in a way worthy of her position, dignity, and self-respect.

Early in August, 1914, the British Government had asked Japan for assistance under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and on the 15th Japan sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding from her the withdrawal of all her warships from Chinese and Japanese waters, and the delivery to her in a month's time of the leased territory of Kiaochow, with a view to its ultimate restoration to China. A reply was requested within a week, and as it was not received, Japan declared war on August 23, 1914, only three weeks after the British declaration of war.

Tsingtao, the capital of Kiaochow, is a strongly fortified military and naval base of Germany in China. It was the nucleus of German expansion in the Far East. I should say it was the outpost of the grand German scheme of "Berlin-Bagdad Policy." I am told that the German Emperor had cherished the hope of making Tsingtao into an Eastern Kiel one day, and his chagrin was great when he heard of its fall.

It is well to remember how Tsingtao was acquired. By the Shimonoseki treaty, which was concluded at the end of the war of 1894, China had agreed to concede Port Arthur to Japan as a part of the indemnity. But Germany, having persuaded two other European Powers

to co-operate, demanded Japan to give up her claim to the Chinese port. England declined to be a party to this intervention, an action which gained the gratitude of Japan and laid a foundation of the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance several years later. Japan, of course, had to give up her legitimate claim to the spoil which was bought with costly price of blood and money. Soon after, Germany, taking advantage of the unfortunate accident of the killing of two missionaries, and as a reward for her intervention, got Tsingtao from China; Russia got Port Arthur; and France got some valuable concession in Southern China; and afterwards even Great Britain leased Wei Hai Wei—this, perhaps, from the need of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East. At any rate, the German occupation of Kiaochou started the scramble for territorial concessions from China, and although Port Arthur was returned to Japan after the war with Russia (with whom, mind you, we are great friends now), Tsingtao remained in German hands, and during those twenty years Germany has converted it into a strong military fort and a naval base as well as a prosperous colony.

Japan, in her turn, advised Germany to give it up, but as she did not listen to our advice, war was declared and a besieging army of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  divisions was sent out. After a long and thorough preparation, and with a short and gallant attack, both from land and sea, the fort of Tsingtao was occupied by our army, with the help of two battalions of British troops under the command of Major-General Barnardiston. Over 4,600 German soldiers were taken prisoners.

Thus, the only German military fortress and the most formidable naval base of German Far Eastern fleet was stripped of our enemy's hand, and the constant menace to the peace in the Eastern Asia was thus got rid of. The fall of Tsingtao took place on November 7, 1914, and with it the Japanese Army's part in this war came to a successful end. The total casualties of the Japanese Army in this campaign were nearly 2,000.

To *The Times* Japanese section, issued last September, the Japanese Admiralty has contributed an excellent account of the naval achievement during the war, with an accompanying chart showing the routes covered by the fleet. This falls under five heads.

(1) *Naval Action at Kiaochou or Tsingtao*.—This may be summarized as the transporting of the besieging army and its safe landing, which went on without a hitch; and the blockading of the harbour and the cannonading of the fortress from the sea in conjunction with the land forces.

(2) *Activity in the Eastern and China Seas*.—This consisted of patrolling constantly in those wide areas of sea, protecting the Allied com-

merce and transports from the attacks of the enemy warships which had escaped from Tsingtao before it was blockaded. Under this head comes the landing of Japanese marines to help in suppressing the serious mutiny among Indian troops in Singapore.

(3) *Activity in the Indian Ocean.*—This consisted in chasing the raider *Emden*, which did much havoc to the world's commerce and the Allied transports; and in escorting the transport of Australian and New Zealand contingents up to the Red Sea. In this connection, I may say that three batches of the Russian troops from Eastern Siberia were convoyed by the Japanese Navy to Toulon.

(4) *Activity in the Pacific Ocean.*—This was the most arduous task undertaken by the Japanese Navy. Chasing down German and Austrian warships and taking possession of their naval bases among various German islands in the Pacific was not an easy task. The Japanese fleet cruised all over the ocean from Hawaii on the north to Fiji Islands on the south, and to New Guinea on the west, covering all areas scattered over with those islands like Marshall, Caroline, New Caledonia, Samoa, and Bismarck Archipelago. We are at present administering the Caroline and Marshall Islands.

(5) *Activity on the West Coast of America.*—After being deprived of naval bases in Tsingtao and various islands in the Pacific, the German warships, which were once dispersed, finally succeeded in reuniting themselves off the western coast of South America, and the Japanese Navy's part in these regions was to let them feel the pressure from all sides and chase them down to a convenient corner, thus finally succeeding in rounding them up for the great naval victory at Falkland Islands, where the British fleet under Admiral Sturdee practically annihilated the German Pacific Navy.

In short, we can summarize the whole naval activity of Japan as having helped the Allied navies by relieving them from their tasks in the Eastern seas and the Pacific Ocean, besides escorting transports of Anzacs and Russians safe to their destinations. The extent of this relief can be judged from the fact that the Japanese fleet engaged in these activities was no less than 225,000 in tonnage—say 30 to 40 vessels—besides a great number of merchantmen, such as transports and mine-sweepers. It may be noted that this naval force is almost equal to the whole fleet of Japan at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, although little more than one-third of its present force. At the same time, it must be remembered that, although the warships actually engaged in these activities were only about one-third, the whole Japanese fleet, in fact, has been mobilized during the period from the declaration of war up to the British victory at Falkland. Japan lost one third-class cruiser, one destroyer, one torpedo-boat, and three

mine-sweepers. All the German warships in Tsingtao were sunk or destroyed, and the *Emden* was run to earth by the Australian cruiser *Sydney*.

Lastly, I come to the munition work of Japan for the help of the Allies. Unlike the other two—i.e., the help by army and navy—this part of the Japanese contribution towards the victory is still in progress, and I must not give any exact figures. I can only say that Japan has mobilized the whole of her industrial resources for the war. Not only the two great arsenals of the Japanese Government, but thousands of private works and factories are busy, day and night, in manufacturing all kinds of munitions to supply the Russian armies in the field. About a year ago the Japanese Foreign Minister intimated that two-thirds of the Russian Army was at that time being armed by Japanese munitions. This was surely no small effort on the part of Japan.

Nor was it only Russia that Japan has helped with munitions. England also obtained large quantities of rifles and other things from Japan at the early period of the war for Kitchener's Army. She has furnished rifles to all the other Allies, except Italy. But the chief country to which Japan is supplying munitions at present is Russia.

Prior to the fall of Warsaw in August, 1915, Japan had sent to Russia enough rifles to arm no fewer than 52 divisions, or something like 750,000 rifles, to say nothing of field artillery and heavy guns. It is a well-known fact that Japan had sent some officers to train Russian gunners in the handling of Japanese guns.

Again, it is not only weapons of all kinds that Japan is sending to Russia, but practically everything in the way of equipment needed by Russian soldiers, including clothing, boots, and provisions. Some idea of the extent of this side of assistance may be gained from the fact that in 1915 no less than ten million yards of khaki cloth were sent to Russia. Needless to say, these munitions and equipments were sold to Russia for value received, but it is noteworthy that the price received for them is, I understand, about half compared with that of the American supplies. Japan could not afford to suffer loss on these sales, but she seems not to be anxious to get "excess war profits."

At the same time, it is quite true that Japan is making money. During the last two years Japan sold munitions and equipments to Russia alone to the value of £30,000,000, but it is interesting to note that she by no means received the value in cash. On the contrary, in order to help Russian finance, she has bought already £12,000,000 worth of Russian Bonds. The Japanese Mint has been also busy in making Russian coins.

With regard to France, Japan bought back her Railway Bonds,

amounting to £6,000,000, which had been placed in Paris before the war. She also bought some long-dated French Bonds.

Lastly, with regard to England, Japan has already bought back her own bonds in the London market to the amount of £14,000,000 during the war period, besides paying to England the interest upon her bonds to the amount of over six million pounds. Again, Japan has bought ten million sterling's worth of the British Treasury Bonds, and our memory is still fresh concerning the success of the British war loan of £10,000,000 issued at Tokyo, which was interpreted by British papers as expressive of Japan's financial improvement, her confidence in English finance, and her faith in the final victory of the Allies. Moreover, the greater part of the gold reserve abroad, which is growing fast, is deposited in the Bank of England, and is, I believe, of some assistance to your finance, and is also the best proof of Japan's confidence in British financial power.

Japan is no rich country. She has been a borrowing country, and of late years the balance of commerce has been always against her. But, owing to the change of circumstances during the war, she has become, or at least is becoming, a lending country. With the money which she has made during the war she is trying, in her modest way, to do what she can to help the finance of the Allies. It is far from my intention to boast of the part played by my country in this colossal struggle of the whole world. Japan has only done, and is still doing, her bit. Indeed, I wish that she could have done more than this, but in one sense it is a rather satisfactory sign that the Allies in Europe did not find it necessary to ask Japan for more assistance than what she has actually given. But whenever the occasion comes in which her further assistance and co-operation is required, I believe that my country will never shirk the responsibility imposed upon her, for she is as firmly determined as any of the Allied nations to fight the war to the finish, and to win a complete victory such as will secure the permanent peace of the world.

The CHAIRMAN: You will all agree that we have listened to an exceedingly instructive account of the part which Japan has taken in the war—in the military, the naval, the munitions, and the financial spheres. We shall have gathered from the tone of the lecture the spirit with which Japan has gone with us into this tremendous struggle. I have not myself visited Japan, but thirty years ago I travelled all round Manchuria and heard much about Japan. What is so exceedingly striking is that in this short lapse of time of only thirty years Japan should have risen to such a height of greatness as that she occupies to-day. There are many here besides myself who spent the greater

part of their lives in Asia, and I am sure they must be as impressed as I am with this phenomenon in Asiatic politics. There was one striking feature in the lecture which brings this home to us specially, and that was the single fact that the Japanese transported Russian troops from Vladivostok right away round to France. If any of us had been told thirty years ago that such a thing as that would happen, he would have been extremely astonished. It is not only Russian troops that they have taken across the seas, but also troops from Australia. There is no doubt that Japan has in this war made contributions of the very greatest help to us.

Colonel SIR T. HOLDICH said he regretted exceedingly that he had no personal knowledge of Japan. It was one of the marvels of history, and would always remain so, that in the short space of forty years Japan should have risen from what we knew her to be then to what she was now. It was difficult to conceive the power which Japan had been able to throw into the present struggle and the great assistance she had been able to give us, when we remembered that half a century ago Japanese policy was one of isolation from and opposition to all other nations. He was quite unprepared to hear that the Japanese Navy had taken such a signal part in the struggle, particularly in patrolling the Pacific Ocean during the war. They could all recall the brilliant work of the Navy of Japan in her war with Russia; but since then those of them who had not been able to follow Japanese affairs closely had not realized that her fleet had been so largely increased that it had become much stronger than it was then. It was an enormous undertaking, and one which had been very much overlooked since the beginning of the war, to patrol the Pacific while the German cruisers still held a hand there. We could not be too thankful for the endeavours which Japan had put forth in the naval sense, and we owed very much indeed to her assistance since the war began.

He was not surprised to hear the reply the lecturer gave to the question asked him in France why Japan was not sending troops to Europe, why she was not sending soldiers as well as rifles. He conceived that there might be grave political reasons for that into which the lecturer did not care to enter. But they would all be quite satisfied with his reply, and with the confidence he expressed on behalf of his country in the ultimate success of the Allies. One could only hope that in the long future as in the present Japan would still remain as good and firm an ally as she had proved to be in the last few years.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON wished to say a few words, as one who had made two short visits to Japan. All present entertained a sense of enormous appreciation and gratitude for what the lecturer had told them.



Many of the facts he had given they had heard for the first time; indeed, the greater part of what he had said was new to him, though he always endeavoured to keep in touch with Japanese affairs. His first visit to Japan was in 1895, at the time to which he referred, just when the peace with China had been concluded, and it was intensely interesting to hear how what was done then had worked out in the intervening twenty-one years.

Colonel A. C. YATE said he visited Japan in 1898 and 1905. On the former occasion, when he got to Nagasaki, he called on the Lieutenant-General commanding the garrison and asked permission to see the troops there. The General very kindly consented, and sent a staff officer round with him, and also an interpreter, to see every branch of the service. Perhaps the thing he most thoroughly appreciated was to see a regiment of infantry that was being inspected by its Colonel. He was thus able to observe how thoroughly it was prepared for mobilization. Naturally he was interested in his own branch of the service, that of the cavalry. In 1906 or 1907 he received an invitation from Sir Alexander Bannerman, who was present at the siege of Port Arthur as British representative, to meet a Japanese officer. To his great pleasure and surprise he turned out to be the officer who had taken him round the garrison at Nagasaki some years before. He invited this officer to his county dinner, and to the surprise of both of them the officer's name was coupled with the toast of the guest. But he rose to the occasion; he (Colonel Yate) had never heard a better speech made by a man unfamiliar with our institutions, and not speaking through the medium of his mother tongue.

He remembered standing on the veranda of the Singapore Club in 1905, to watch a great fleet pass through the Straits. He and those about him were surprised at the progress Japan had then made in sea power. They were now gratified to think that this fleet had been employed in the last two and a half years with such good effect for the support of the Allied cause. The Japanese fleet had been a factor in resisting German aggression, and enabling them all to look forward to ultimate success in this war.

AN AMERICAN LADY said they ought not to separate without contrasting the brutalizing effect of German *kultur* in the last forty years with the progress of Japan from her archaic polity to a place of honour among the Great Powers.

THE CHAIRMAN expressed his thanks to the lecturer on behalf of the audience. They had all learned a very great deal from the lecture, and were not now in any uncertainty as to the importance of the Japanese contribution to the war. They hoped that this would not be the last occasion of his visiting the Society.

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## CONTENTS

### VOLUME IV., PART II.

	PAGE
THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA. <i>By</i>	
<i>Mr. E. C. Wilton, C.M.G.</i> - - -	27
BAGDAD. <i>By Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich</i> - - -	40

## THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA

At a meeting of the Society on February 28, 1917, Mr. E. C. Wilton, C.M.G., read a paper on this subject, illustrated by lantern slides.

Colonel Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND presided, and said they were fortunate in having with them Mr. Wilton, who was H.M.'s Consul in Nanking, and had spent the greater part of his life in China. He was with him in the Tibet Mission in 1904, and afterwards made an interesting and valuable journey in South-West China. He studied the conditions mainly from the point of view of railway communication with Burma, but at the same time he paid attention to topographical details, and also to the condition of the people in the various provinces he visited.

The title of my paper this evening is "The Boundary Provinces of Western China," and I will commence by placing on the screen before you a map of Western China, showing the three provinces of Kansu, Ssuehuan, and Yunnan.

They lie within what may be called the mountainous half of China, for the line of longitude  $110^{\circ}$  E. divides China proper into two approximately equal parts, separating at the same time the mountainous on the west from the level on the east.

Between these three provinces of China and Central Asia lie the vast areas of Southern Mongolia and Tibet, and you will observe that the north-western part of Kansu is interposed as a wedge between Mongolia and Tibet; and is, moreover, not only a highroad into Chinese Turkestan, but the door through which the Mohammedan religion has come into Western China.

Kansu is the northern of the three boundary provinces, and corresponds geographically to the ancient Tangut Kingdom, which so long successfully defied the Chinese and was finally subjugated by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. It covers an area of 125,000 square miles, with a population of about 6,000,000, of whom perhaps one-quarter are Mohammedans, to be found chiefly in the central portions, while within and along the western frontiers are tribes of

## 28 THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA

Tibetan stock. The Yellow River, the second largest in the Chinese Empire, takes its rise across the border in Tibet, and although there are numerous ferries, there was but one bridge spanning it (at Lanchowfu, the provincial capital) in its course of 4,000 miles until the construction in 1911 of the railway bridge in the eastern maritime province of Shantung.

The province has been subject to civil war and the devastation of two Mohammedan rebellions; and the general unrest has effectively arrested any development of its natural resources during the last century, although portions of the north-west and north-east are now exhibiting some signs of agricultural revival.

The first of these rebellions was in 1855, lasting for eighteen years, and owed its origin to mutual distrust and suspicion and a fear on the part of the provincial officials of the growing strength of the Mohammedans. The second broke out in 1895, and was finally put down four years afterwards.

A Belgian syndicate was granted a railway concession five years ago for a line from Lanchou eastwards right across China to the sea coast, but no portion of this line has as yet been constructed in Kansu; and the province can boast of no railway communications, the usual means of transport being by carts and pack animals. Since its inauguration as a province in 1750, Kansu, in spite of civil dissensions, has ceased to be a battlefield for China and her enemies, and served as an advanced base and lines of communication for Chinese armies in Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

To the south of Kansu lies Ssuchuan, the land of the Four Rivers. It is the largest of all the Chinese provinces, with an area of 220,000 square miles and a population of 50,000,000. Thanks to its temperate climate, fertile soil, and the industry of its inhabitants, it produces everything, except cotton, necessary for its dense population, together with a large surplus available for export. The most intensely cultivated and densely populated part is that known as the Red Basin, which occupies approximately the centre, and is surrounded by mountainous and sparsely inhabited country to the east, north, and west, and is bounded by the Yangtse on the south.

A marked feature of the agricultural as distinguished from the industrial districts is the absence of villages. The farmer and the farm labourers live in farmhouses on the land, and the tendency is to the separation rather than to the congregation of dwellings; as a result, the whole countryside is dotted over with cottages at a short distance from one another. Another characteristic of the purely farm life as distinguished from village life of the agricultural population is the street market (Ch'ang). These are generally long streets lining the main roads, consisting of shops owned by the farmers, and

let to traders on the market days, which fall on every third, fourth, or fifth day, as the case may be. These gatherings are the centres of news, gossip, official announcements, festivals, theatricals, and public and even family meetings, and are very lively scenes on the days of meeting.

In addition to its other natural resources, Ssuehuan possesses abundant salt wells scattered widespread throughout the province. These wells have all been laboriously bored by hand, some reaching to a depth of over 3,000 feet. The brine is brought to the surface in bamboo buckets attached to bamboo ropes wound round a drum by harnessed buffaloes. The natural gas, of which there is a large supply in the principal salt centre, is conducted in bamboo pipes and utilized for the evaporation of the brine.

From the political and ethnographical points of view the country to the west of the Red Basin is by far the most interesting, as it stretches towards and beyond the wild regions generally known as the Tibetan Marches, inhabited by Tibetans and people of Tibetan stock. As regards the inhabitants of the Red Basin, these are all Chinese, and the province may be said to have been but recently colonized. In the seventeenth century it was practically depopulated by the notorious Changhsien-Chung, a blood-thirsty madman who waded to power through streams of blood, and removed every obstacle by the simple expedient of wholesale massacre—men, women, and children, he spared none. He was finally killed by the Manchus, who invaded and conquered the province towards the latter end of the seventeenth century. There appears no reason to question the popular belief that he recorded his murders on a stone tablet, known as the tablet of the "seven shas," each "sha" (kill) representing a million.

I was unsuccessful in my attempt to get a peep at the tablet itself, for it is deeply buried beneath the stone floor of the prefect's yamen at Chentu (provincial capital), and its exhumation would have been followed by a terrible earthquake. I was able, however, to inspect a painting of what was undoubtedly a genuine portrait of Chang taken from life. It left a very unpleasant impression, and the stark staring eyes, with their look of ferocious madness, haunted me for quite a little time.

After the Manchu conquest the province was colonized by Chinese from other provinces, and so unpopular were these remote regions that, according to tradition, men had to be transported thither in chains—a Chinese euphemism for saying that it was used as a penal settlement in those days. It may be said, therefore, that the settlement and revival of this prosperous and wealthy province has been accomplished within the space of the last century and a half. Not only has it contributed largely in the past to the revenues of the

### 30 THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA

central Government, but it has also given considerable financial assistance to the exchequers of its poorer neighbours, such as Kueichow and Yunnan, and has also provided the funds required for the former upkeep of the expensive establishments maintained in Tibet for the Chinese Amban and the so-called Chinese garrisons in that country. Its wealth and strategical importance explain in a great measure the uneasiness and suspicion which China has manifested towards India, and the policy of the former in maintaining Tibet as a buffer zone against an advance from India in this direction—an advance, it need hardly be said, which was wholly imaginary, but, nevertheless, a bogie consistently held up before the eyes of the Court at Peking by the provincial Government of Ssuehuan.

The extraordinary prosperity of Ssuehuan is due not only to the fertility of its soil and the industry of its inhabitants, but also very largely to its excellent water communications; and the bold and hardy type of boatman is never deterred by meagre pay, dangers of wreck, and exposure to the elements from braving the many dangers of the numerous rapids in the higher reaches of its rivers. The main artery is unquestionably the Yangtse, and the city of Chungking, with a population of 300,000, built on nine hills, stands on the north bank of this great river, 1,400 miles from the sea, as the commercial gateway for the entire province. In spite of its picturesque situation and the extraordinary life and bustle of its commercial existence, it is a cheerless city to live in, for the average sunshine is but one day in seven, and it is a Ssuehuan proverb that when the sun appears at Chungking the dogs bark, so great a stranger is he. Below Chungking for a distance of 400 miles the river is broken by deep gorges and dangerous rapids, and all passengers and merchandise were hauled up in native junks at infinite toil and considerable risk before the advent of steamers within the last few years. The pioneer of steamer enterprise on these upper waters of the Yangtse was the late Archibald Little, and many a time I have sat with him on the veranda of his house overlooking the river at Chungking and discussed the pros and cons of this scheme so close to his heart, and yet so full of many disappointments to him. He did not live to see his dreams fully realized, but it may fairly be claimed that it was British enterprise and British determination which showed the way for steam navigation on the upper Yangtse; where it has led others have followed, and to-day a regular service of specially built steamers is plying between Ichang at the foot of the rapids and Chungking.

Beyond Chungking, too, it was British enterprise which led the way and solved the problem of steam navigation as far even as the confines of the Tibetan Marches, and almost to the city gates of the provincial capital itself.

With your kind permission I will tell you something of a cruise

I made one summer on these upper reaches of the Yangtse and the Min River, when I accompanied Lieutenant Watson, now in command of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, on his little gunboat the *Woodcock*. The *Woodcock* was a twin-screw, shallow-draft gunboat of about 12 knots, and we started from Chungking full of hope and confidence to explore these unknown waters. The Chinese officials, with whom we were on excellent terms, entreated us not to go, as we would all be drowned, nor could they conceal their nervousness as to the effect our sudden appearance would have upon the minds of the natives, who had never seen nor even had the slightest conception of a "fire-wheel ship" (steamer), and they sent runners from town to town along the river banks warning the people to fear nothing and to behave themselves. The news of our approach spread like wildfire, and everywhere there were thousands and thousands of spectators lining the banks, and even standing knee-deep in the shallows, intently watching the progress of a boat propelled neither by oars nor hauled by trackers. Throughout the length of our journey the vast crowds were perfectly quiet and orderly, although on one occasion, when the siren was blown somewhat unexpectedly, they bolted in hundreds from the bank and made for the nearest cover in apprehension of a bombardment. The funnel was popularly supposed to be the muzzle of a huge gun, and the general belief was that we were propelled by men hidden in the bottom of the boat. After reaching the limit of junk navigation on the Yangtse, 240 miles above Chungking, we turned northwards into the Min River, which is regarded by the Chinese as the main branch of the Yangtse, and proceeded as far up as Kiating, the most important town in those parts. Just below Kiating the T'ung River joins the Min at right angles, and was running in a freshet at about 14 knots. Both rivers were impassable for native craft, and not a boat was visible on the stream anywhere. The approach is difficult at all times, and at this moment not one of the thousands of spectators believed that we could steam up to the town. On the one side was the T'ung racing into the Min River over a submerged shingle bank, and on the other side of the narrow winding channel, studded with rocks, were the red sandstone cliffs rising sheer from the water's edge and sculptured into a colossal image of the Maitreya Buddha 300 feet high. We ascended successfully, except that the edge of the shingle bank bit a piece out of one propeller, and we sheered over at an alarming angle from the shock. It was a tight corner—perhaps the tightest on the river—and when it was passed, Watson turned to me on the bridge and laughed a little laugh of relief. The fame of the dramatic arrival travelled far and wide, and as an advertisement for the British flag it could not have been surpassed.

I hope I have not tried your patience too long over this little

## 32 THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA

cruise, but, quite apart from the valuable knowledge of the river and commercial prospects in those regions, I venture to believe that advertisement of this kind is worth more than the publication of scores of reports written at desks and compiled from books of reference. British prestige in Western China was at a low ebb twenty years ago, but it is high to-day, and this is due in no small measure to British naval officers and bluejackets, who seem to have the happy knack of hitting it off admirably with all classes of the Chinese. As an instance of this I may mention that, when the *Woodcock* left Sauchuan, the Chinese authorities expressed their warm thanks for the excellence of the men's behaviour and their good feeling towards the people, and begged permission to distribute little presents among them.

"Prestige" is anathema to some people, who would like to eliminate it from the dictionary, but "prestige" is a very real thing; and when gained, as ours has been, by firmness combined with tact, patience, and fair dealing, it is, I venture to believe, an asset of incalculable value.

The Min River is not a geographical boundary of the province, but it is an ethnographical one, for it divides the Chinese on the east from the Tibetan on the west, and the Miniak country to the north-west of Tachienlu, the most important town in the Tibetan Marches, has been regarded by many Tibetans as the cradle of their family. These regions to the west are noted for big game and gold. One of the little independent States there, to which Chinese are admitted on sufferance and as itinerant pedlars only, is so rich in alluvial gold that the saying is that your straw sandals, costing rather less than half a farthing a pair, will sell for a dollar after a day's walk. Not without reason, too, are the highest reaches of the Yangtse known as the River of Golden Sands, and its gold is washed out of the river flats for many hundreds of miles along its course.

In the south-west of the province and in the great bend of the Yangtse lies the area known as Liangshan, inhabited by the independent Lolos, noted for their physical courage and manly appearance. I should like to tell you something of these interesting folk, but time presses, and we must cross the Yangtse into Yunnan. Before doing so, however, I will throw on the screen a few types of the independent Lolo.

The province of Yunnan is the south-western corner of China, and has an area of 150,000 square miles, and with the exception of numerous lake basins, the aggregate extent of which does not exceed 10,000 square miles, may be described as mountainous. It is a broken plateau, with an average elevation of 6,000 feet, traversed by mountain ranges whose general trend is from north to south. The plateau falls abruptly to the deep valleys of the Yangtse on the



north; to those of the Irrawaddy, Mekong, and Red Rivers on the west and south; and with an easier gradient to that of the West River on the east. In the west, the courses of the great rivers—Shewli, Salween, Mekong—are marked by deep troughs cut through the wild and precipitous country. In the east the plateau is scored only by one large river, the Ta Chiang. The population is about 10,000,000, and 40 per cent. of these dwell in the lake basins, and the remainder are to be found in the hilly areas; the Chinese element is in the majority in the level lands, while the various members of the tribes predominate in the highlands. These tribes, including the Shan, Lolo, and Miao families, constitute a very interesting ethnographical study, and, although earlier arrivals in the province than the Chinese, they do not appear to be the aboriginal inhabitants. The Shans have migrated into Yunnan along two lines from the east and from the north; the Lolos from the east; and the Miaos from the east likewise, although at a later date. In addition to these three principal tribal families, tribes of Tibetan stock are scattered along the western and north-western frontiers. Those on the western border are comparatively late arrivals, and these mountaineers find themselves in the unpleasant position of being wedged in by China on one side and Burma on the other.

The capital of the province is Yunnanfu, at an elevation of 6,800 feet, and described by Marco Polo as a very great and noble city. Most picturesquely situated on the shores of the K'un Yang Lake, surrounded by mountains and wooded hills, it is the terminus of the French railway from Tongking. This line, about 300 miles long, is the only railway within the whole area of the boundary provinces of Western China, and it has long been the dream of many practical men to link up Burma and Yunnan with the vast markets of Ssuchuan and the Yangtse Valley by a railway. Fascinating as this problem is, however, its solution still lies in the future.

The rivers of Yunnan are, practically speaking, unnavigable, and overland communications very difficult and costly, so that, away from the single line of railway, merchandise is carried slowly and painfully on the backs of pack animals. Nor has the province yet recovered from the eighteen years' struggle between the Mohammedans and Chinese from 1855 to 1873, when it was computed that 10,000,000 of the inhabitants lost their lives. During this period the Mohammedans established a capital at Talifu for some years, but the town was surrendered, and thousands of the defenders driven into the lake and drowned.

Inasmuch as its frontiers lie on Tibet, Burma, and Indo-China, Yunnan is bound to continue to have a deep political interest outside China. It cannot be denied, however, that the economic outlook of the province is somewhat gloomy, and it would appear that its



## 34 THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA

future progress and material prosperity depend absolutely upon the satisfactory development of its enormous mineral resources, hitherto practically unexploited.

We have now glanced at these three boundary provinces, isolated from the neighbours of China on the north and on the west for nearly 200 years by the buffer zones of Tibet and Mongolia, and we have seen that both from the strategic and economic points of view the centre—i.e., Ssuehuan—is the strongest part of China's boundary line in the west, and its weakest points are on either flank, represented by Kansu and Yunnan respectively.

The creation of these buffer zones has been no accident, but the deliberate policy of the Manchu Emperor Kienlung (in the middle of the eighteenth century), probably the most powerful and sagacious statesman that ever ruled the destinies of the Chinese Empire. He defined the present province in Kansu in 1750, and some years later laid down the limits beyond which Chinese sovereignty should not penetrate into the vast regions of Tibet; in 1769 he closed a series of wars with Burma by a treaty under which the latter paid tribute to China. He was far-seeing enough to perceive that the wastes of Mongolia and Tibet could never be colonized by Chinese, but were formidable buffers against any hostile approach from Central Asia. Tibet has never in any sense been a Chinese province, and to Tibet, even more than to Mongolia, he granted autonomy, for he foresaw that the spiritual influence of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa and the Tashi Lama at Shigatse would keep in check their co-religionists, the Mongol tribes, and that a suzerainty, even as shadowy as Turkey once held over Egypt, would be a far more valuable asset than a precarious attempt to establish Chinese sovereignty in wild, desolate lands, with difficult communications, scanty supplies, and where Chinese settlers could not maintain themselves.

Ever since the close of Kienlung's reign in 1796 there has been a constant struggle between the provincial authorities of Ssuehuan and the central Government at Peking as to the policy to be adopted towards Tibet. The former have ever adopted an aggressive attitude towards that country, and the latter have been desirous of maintaining the *status quo*. In the days of the monarchy it was the rule for a strong Viceroy to endeavour to snatch and administer whatever portions of Tibet came convenient to his hand, but he was invariably overruled on the appeal of the Tibetans to the central Government.

The Mission which Sir Francis Younghusband took to Lhasa met at first, as you all know, with a great deal of hostility on the side of the Tibetans. The tact and patience of Sir Francis, however, aided by his extraordinary knowledge of the peoples of Central and Eastern Asia, converted this hostility into good feeling, and the Mission

departed from Lhasa, leaving behind a most favourable impression not only in the minds of the people generally, but also of the Tibetan hierarchy. The progress of the Mission was viewed with suspicion and alarm, and in a weak moment the Court at Peking gave way to evil advice. Chinese troops not only overran Eastern Tibet and occupied Lhasa, but the conversion of Tibet into a Chinese province was even attempted. The whole campaign has proved disastrous for China, and no dispassionate observer would venture to deny that this fatal departure from her traditional policy has resulted in a very heavy blow to her prestige throughout the whole extent of the buffer zone covering her three western boundary provinces.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a very interesting lecture, but I think the most interesting part was left out. Mr. Wilton described how he was on a steamer which went down in the Yangtse in 120 feet of water, when the captain of the boat and twenty of the passengers and the crew were drowned. But he did not relate how he escaped to be present with us this evening. We hope he may tell us of his adventures on that occasion.

The slide we saw of the Great Wall of China showed it to be a very solid masonry structure, looking as though it would last for ever. He described how it was 2,000 miles long from the sea-coast to its limit in northern deserts. I know the Wall from its departure from the sea to Peking and some 200 or 300 miles beyond, and all that part is of the same solid type. But I have also seen it along the borderland of Mongolia and the Gobi desert, and there it is nothing but a flimsy structure of mud and sticks.

We have all been interested in what Mr. Wilton has had to tell us of the remote province of Ssuehuan. From what I have heard of it from Mr. Wilton on many other occasions besides this evening, it must be one of the richest parts of the world. Its lands are exceedingly fertile, and it contains highly valuable mineral deposits. Its population of about 50,000,000 (which is rather more than the population of these islands) is very industrious and intelligent. With all these advantages of climate, fertility of soil, and mineral wealth, one cannot help realizing how much scope there is there for development in the future, provided proper means of communication with the outside world can be found. Mr. Wilton said that the Chinese provincial governors were nervous and jealous as to our advance from India in that direction. Well, it may be natural that they should be so when there is that fertile province to attract us. But, as Mr. Wilton has said, there is not the slightest cause for apprehension. We have the tremendous natural obstacle of the Himalayas between us and Ssuehuan, and I am sure it is no part of the policy of the Government of India to move further in that direction. We did

move in the case of the Mission to Tibet; but there was not the slightest intention or desire for annexation, and as soon as we had achieved our objects of putting our relationship with the Tibetans on a satisfactory footing, we withdrew from the country. It was gratifying to hear from Mr. Wilton that as a result of the Mission there was good feeling there toward us, because that was always part of our intention when we went there. We desired to establish good feeling amongst the people of Tibet and those of the western frontiers of China. In the work of bringing this about Mr. Wilton himself played a part.

The lecturer is perfectly right in what he said about the value of British prestige. It is hard perhaps for people here in England thoroughly to understand this. But those who have travelled in the East, and especially those who have travelled alone in out-of-the-way parts, know how extremely important it is that our prestige should stand high and should be firm and constant. It is because of that prestige that Englishmen are able to travel in safety in every part of Asia. It is by means of that prestige that officials like Mr. Wilton are able to carry on their work in far-away corners of the Chinese Empire.

Sir FREDERIC FRYER said that though he was a good many years in Burma, he never had any opportunity to visit the western provinces of China of which Mr. Wilton had given them such a good description. When he was Lieutenant-Governor of Burma there was considerable hostility between the Chinese and the people of the Burma frontier. The Chinese central Government always expressed the most excellent intentions toward us, and always promised that everything should be done to preserve peace upon the frontier. But the local governors were always making advances within what we considered to be our territory. On several occasions after the demarcation of the boundary, the Chinese crossed it, and sometimes our forces came into collision with Chinese troops. The central Chinese authorities always alleged that the aggressors were not troops, but simply marauders, although it was well established that the parties crossing the agreed border actually did consist of regular Chinese soldiers. He believed that now our relations with China in those regions were on a much more friendly footing, because every year a party of Chinese officials met a party of our officials to settle any dispute that might have arisen since the previous conference. In consequence mutual knowledge had very much improved, and he thought now it could be said that our border relations were generally excellent.

There had always been a great desire to carry a railway from the British border into Yunnan, and when he was in Burma the Government made a road from Bhamo to Tengyueh. It was practicable, or intended to be practicable, for wheeled carriage. We made our part

of the road, which was seventy miles long, and then it was for the Chinese to continue the road right into Tengyueh. But when he left they had not done so, although we had offered, in case they found it difficult to provide engineers, to align the road. He believed it would be quite practicable to make a railway as far as Tengyueh. Beyond that place, he was informed, there would be considerable difficulties in laying out a railway, because of some very high ranges that would have to be passed. But he felt confident that in process of time we should have railway communication between Bhamo and Yunnanfu.

Mr. GEORGE JAMIESON, C.M.G., said he shared Sir Frederic Fryer's hope that a railway would be built from Bhamo to Yunnanfu. But as regard the province of Ssuehuan it was a very different proposition. The whole tendency of trade therefrom was down the Yangtse River to Shanghai, and there were very great difficulties of natural features in the way of a railway from Burma to Ssuehuan. The misfortune of that province was that it was so isolated from the eastern part of China. Formerly the only way of access was by native boat up the Yangtse, with its frightful and dangerous rapids. Steamers had now been constructed which were able to navigate these rapids; but it was expensive work even now. He believed that freight charges, say from Ichang to Chungking, were two or three times more than those from Shanghai to London in normal times. Until a railway was built to the coast Ssuehuan would never be reasonably in touch with the rest of China. He believed that the next trunk line in China would be from Ssuehuan to Hankow, to connect with Shanghai. Preliminary surveys had been made, and if it were not for this shocking war and its effect in limiting financial and industrial enterprise, by this time something would have been done to provide this very necessary means of communication. It would not be an easy railway to make, because through a great part of the way it was intended that the route should follow those enormous gorges which they had seen on the screen. But provided the capital was forthcoming the task would not be beyond the skill of modern engineering. The Chinese need not be alarmed as to any supposed desire of the British to take Ssuehuan from the Indian side. All we wished was to have access to it as a market for our goods, and it was one almost untapped. A good deal of Manchester and other goods even now went up the Yangtse, but nothing in comparison with the needs of 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 of population. The wealth of the people would be greatly increased by facilities for exchanging their produce for manufactured goods. In natural resources Ssuehuan was one of the richest provinces in China. Besides supplying salt for about one-third of the Empire, it produced in abundance many things for which there was unusual demand, such as silk, wool, white wax,

## 38 THE BOUNDARY PROVINCES OF WESTERN CHINA

musks, etc., and it would become, once a railway was built, the greatest market in China for foreign manufactures.

Mr. N. Kato said he would like to state the feeling of the Japanese in regard to the prestige of the British people in Western China, to which Mr. Wilton had referred. There were some few people in Japan who looked with misgiving upon British competition in business in Ssuehuan and other provinces of the Yangtse Valley. But the more liberal party of enlightened Japanese welcomed the work of British merchants and traders in developing the resources of the interior of China with sincere hope of their success. Among his Japanese friends in London he found when they talked of Chinese affairs between themselves they always came to one conclusion. They said to each other: "Our own country was opened up by foreigners of the West, who taught us the necessity of commerce and trade. We are thankful for the opening up of Japan, and all that it has meant for us. China cannot be opened up of itself. That development can best be achieved by free competition among the nations trading with China. So long as the penetration is commercial and industrial, and is not political, it will be for the good of China and of the world at large." From this point of view he was very pleased to have listened to praise of the British trader, and also to hear the results of the expedition to Lhasa, which was led by their Chairman. China had suffered severely from the war, because for the time being foreign capital was not available for the development of her resources. When the great struggle was over, the nations of the West might be assured that the Japanese would welcome their endeavours to further commercial enterprise in the vast republic of China.

Mr. WILTON, replying to the discussion, said he would first respond to the Chairman's request for information on his adventure in being wrecked on the Yangtse. He managed to get ashore, and spent the night in an empty native boat, eating a somewhat frugal dinner of dry rice and salt. He travelled to Shanghai with the least possible delay, and bought some more clothes, and this was the end of the adventure.

In reference to the road from Bhamo, to which Sir Frederic Fryer had alluded, he would be interested to know that the Chinese portion had been completed at Chinese expense by engineers lent by the Government of Burma. At any rate, if it was not quite finished, it was very near completion, so that it might be said there was good road communication from Bhamo to Tengyueh. With regard to railway enterprise in the same region, no doubt a railway was possible to Tengyueh. But when it reached that point, where could it go to further? If they sought to reach the important marts of Western Yunnan, they would have to traverse great watersheds, crossing passes of about 8,000 feet, and dropping down to four or five valleys!

as low as that of the Salween (about 2,400 feet). He very much doubted whether this great feat was likely to be attempted for many years to come.

Mr. Jamieson mentioned the heavy cost of haulage from Ssuchuan along the Yangtse. Whether a through railway would pay when there was the alternative of the river route and given a good and regular steamer service thereon might be regarded as doubtful. The Maritime Customs hoped to improve the water route, and were regulating the traffic. They had employed as expert adviser an Englishman, Captain Plant, whose knowledge of the upper river could not be surpassed. Whether the money would be forthcoming for enterprise on an adequate scale remained to be seen, but at least something could be done at moderate cost to remove a great many of the dangers to which traffic was now exposed on the river.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

## BAGDAD

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND presided at a meeting of the Society on April 25, 1917, when Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich read the following paper on Bagdad:

So much has already been written and said about Bagdad that it is difficult to add anything really useful to the mass of information which has been made public, and which has been thoroughly well illustrated by the maps in our daily papers, which now must be familiar to most of the members of our Society. It will perhaps be well to commence with a few personal notes which, without appealing to the fascinating history of that marvellous country which centres in Bagdad, may lead to a realization of the modern atmosphere which surrounds it and foreshadow certain possibilities in the future.

I was led to Bagdad by the exigencies of geographical inquiry. We wished to know more of the regions which lie westward of India in extension to that which we already knew of the more immediate hinterland. It was necessary to learn something of the topography of the southern highlands of Persia through which overland communication might eventually be established with the Persian Gulf. Our surveys accordingly reached outward through the rugged borderland of the Makran coast, where for the first time something like accurate scientific light was thrown on a region of classical history and Arabic romance, which illuminated the stories of Alexander's extraordinary retirement from India, and, many centuries afterwards, the Arab invasion of India under a youth named Mahomed Kassim who occupied the whole of the Indus valley and carried his triumphal campaign as far as Kashmir. It was a marvellous discovery to find for how many centuries this once well-known and well-trodden avenue of approach from Bagdad to the Indus and India had lapsed into utter oblivion. Makran had long been regarded as an unwholesome, dried-up, and impossible region of sand and sun-scorched rock, where no self-respecting traveller would venture with the hope of acquiring fresh laurels. Ancient ports were identified on the coast where the ships of Nearkhos, Alexander's admiral of the fleet, had touched; ancient cities were unearthed where the mediæval Arab geographer had halted on his way to India, or, perchance, had stayed



to rise to eminence as a merchant; old dams for retaining an always scanty water-supply were to be recognized as the work of the greatest builders of the mediæval world, the Arabs; together with an assemblage of tribal communities of mixed origin and uncertain record such as may be discovered hereafter in remote corners of the Nearer East—the “flotsam and jetsam” of former nationalities. Makran led direct from India to the western borderland of Persia overlooking the Persian Gulf, where the highlands are occupied by mixed races of Persian and Arabic origin who will doubtless become important in the political economy of the future. The Bakhtiaris, for instance, are the immediate neighbours of our settlements in the oil-fields, and much depends on their good-will both now and hereafter if we assume any responsibility for the peace and security of Southern Mesopotamia after the war. A reconnaissance of their country extended into Kurdistan proved them to be on the whole favourable to us and to our English representatives. Mr. G. B. Scott, who has worked amongst them as Surveyor for some years in connection with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, has nothing but pleasant recollections of their hospitality and good-will. Arrangements for exploratory surveys implied the consent and assistance of our political authorities both in Persia and Mesopotamia. Amongst other things, I was most anxious to secure a safeguard for a native explorer to travel from Bagdad to Mecca as a pilgrim with a taste for inquiry. In this I did not succeed, but it was this that led me to Bagdad. At first sight the promise of a successful desert excursion across Arabia did not seem to be remote. The first stage on the journey is the caravan highway between Bagdad and Nejef, passing through Kerbela, or more directly through Hilla on the Euphrates. Kerbela is about sixty miles south of Bagdad, and about twenty-five to thirty miles north-west of Hilla, Hilla being the modern representative of Babylon, built chiefly with bricks from Babylon's ancient walls on the banks of the Euphrates. From Nejef southwards across the central Arabian desert to Shammar and Mecca would have been a most delightful journey for a keen native explorer—a Muhammadan, of course, and a careful observer—and it would have been productive of much valuable geography touching the little known regions of the central deserts. But it was not to be. The risk was too great unless a guarantee of safe-conduct could be procured at a reasonable cost from some well-known and influential pilgrim. I have never started my too-willing and venturesome native surveyors into trans-border countries to make maps and collect information without some such security for their safe return; and I am glad to say that I never lost one of them. In this case no guarantor could be induced to accept the risk, so I contented myself with a ride to Kerbela, and thence to Babylon, with such examination of existing mapping as could be com-

passed within a strenuous week. That trip to Kerbela was but the last stage of a strange journey from Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf, which was taken in the company of dead men. The flat-bottomed Turkish steamer on which I embarked for the weary journey up the twisting Tigris was just full of them. They were neatly stacked on deck in even rows, each in his own winding-sheet, and they lay piled there like well-packed merchandise awaiting the final grace of a peaceful interment at the sacred shrine of Kerbela. I need hardly remind you that there are two great Muhammadan sects—the orthodox Sunnis, and the Shiah, followers of Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet, who acknowledge no Kalifate outside the family of Mahomet, and who have from the very earliest days of Islam been in opposition. In A.D. 680 Hosein, the grandson of Mahomet and son of Ali, was slain at Kerbela by the orders of the Kalif Yazid the First. From that day to this has the tenth day of Moharam been observed as a day of mourning and woe by the Shiahs. It is then that those remarkable processions take place in which the Shiah followers of the Prophet indulge in a wild orgy of woeful processions, lamenting and weeping, shouting out the name of Hosein, cutting themselves (and sometimes their neighbours) with knives, and exhibiting a fine frenzy of despair for a political crime which took place nearly twelve centuries and a half ago. It is a curious observance, but there is in these degenerate days an atmosphere of fraud overshadowing even this pious display of ecstatic devotion to the cause of a martyr. I am informed on excellent authority that it is not altogether unusual to find small bladders filled with blood concealed beneath the clothes of the devotee, and the frightful effects of perpetual knife-slashing are more apparent than real. Hosein was buried (part of him, that is, for his head was sent to Medina) at Kerbela, where a magnificent mosque has been raised over his tomb (which I was privileged to see); and round about it, outside the city, as far as the eye can reach, the plain is one vast graveyard—a very forest of graves in which the faithful followers of Ali lie buried in profound peace. They come from afar, from India and beyond India, but mostly from the remoter regions of Persia. All Persians are Shiahs. And thus it is that the traffic of the Tigris, now devoted to the needs of an army, was once great in Shiah corpses, and that Bagdad has become a sort of trade centre for their distribution towards Kerbela. Again I quote an unimpeachable source of information when I tell you that the trade in dead Shiahs is a living business for smugglers. The subject is a gruesome one, but it is not without interest and importance. It enormously affects the status of Bagdad as a Muhammadan centre for *all* Islam, Sunnis and Shiahs alike. Half the city is even now occupied by Shiahs, that half which lies on the right or western bank.

Bagdad was not merely an academic centre of learning and art for the mediæval Arab. As the forces of Islam grew, the political capital of Arabia was moved first from Medina to Damascus, and then from Damascus to Bagdad. It was here that the great Kalifs of romance and history established their seat of government for all Arabia. Arabs had swarmed into the Euphrates and Tigris valleys, and through all vicissitudes of history (for Bagdad has been in Persian hands more than once) it has remained essentially an Arab city. It is well to remember that Mesopotamia was a political part of Arabia, as was also Syria. In my opinion they are so still geographically. What in future concerns Bagdad will find its echo in Damascus, in Nejd (Central Arabia), in Mecca and Medina. The result of our first and inconclusive fight for Bagdad affected even far-off Abyssinia. In short, the importance of our occupation of Bagdad, strategically and politically, becomes more obvious from day to day as the war drags its weary length along. If our campaign in Mesopotamia has not made an unqualified progress, it has nevertheless been a splendid success, and a lasting testimony to the length and strength of England's arm.

Bagdad itself is an Oriental city which has not yet become Europeanized. Turks, Arabs, Jews, and Persians are there in the undiluted atmosphere of the East. Its social atmosphere is almost as far removed from that of Constantinople as Bombay is from London. Here the Arab swaggers about in the dress of the patriarchs, and in the bazaars and streets of the ancient town there is hardly a discordant note in the Oriental appearance of men and their surroundings. The top-hat and the "bowler" are not, beyond the neighbourhood of the European quarter, and even there European women must conform to Eastern custom in dress, and wear the veil when out of doors. It is perhaps a unique experience (one which will soon belong to past history) that an English gentleman should meet an English lady of his acquaintance in the streets and be unable to salute her, although he may readily enough recognize her as a friend. Beneath a flimsy pretence of a veil he can see quite well enough the symptoms of a welcoming smile, but he must not respond or take off his hat or otherwise reveal to the casual passer-by that he knows anything whatever about the lady in question. Under such conditions European ladies (there are not many of them) can walk about in safety near their own residences, but no lady would dream of entering the streets of the bazaars or native quarters even to the very limited extent that is sometimes permissible in India. There is not much attraction in the part of the town on the left or eastern bank of the Tigris, so far as the town itself is concerned. Here are the best residences of both European and native inhabitants, but the streets are narrow and inconceivably dusty, and the high walls on

the right hand and the left carefully conceal the gardens within them, nothing but the feathery tops of the palms appearing above them. There are many gardens, so much so that the Persianized form of the city's name, Bāghdād, is quite appropriate and duly significant, "Bagh" being Persian for a "garden." But private Oriental gardens are not the joy to the casual visitor that they are in England, or as they were in India in the garden-cultivating days of the so-called Moguls. The founder of the dynasty, the Turkish prince and warrior Baber, found nothing in India to satisfy his craving for a beautiful garden. He loathed Delhi when he had conquered it, and the burden of his lament is ever the same: "Oh for the gardens of Kabul!" There followed the garden-making era which has left India such monuments of combined architectural and cultivated beauty as are not to be found elsewhere. Certainly not in Bagdad, for of architecture there is little or nothing to admire if we except the tomb of the deeply lamented Zobeid (and that is on the wrong side of the river), whilst the only beauty of garden cultivation within reach of the visitor is just that which European Residencies may have to show. The European residents may be few in number, but they have not (in the late past) been undistinguished in the field of Oriental culture. Some of them built homes for themselves modelled more or less on Oriental lines, and here in this ancient city of Arabic literature and art have they spent years of their lives in study and retirement from the "madding crowd" of Europe. To the recluse and the student I can imagine nothing more delightful than a residence at Bagdad. And let me add that amongst the most cultivated Oriental students were to be found Turks of the Turkish administration.

For the rest, the vista of Bagdad stretching in irregular lines of shimmering white buildings on either side of the red, rolling Tigris, as it may be seen from the Residency gardens, is by no means devoid of picturesque beauty. Palm-trees spread their fans here and there above the houses, or gather in groups on the river-banks. Quaint craft of Arab building cast coloured reflections on the brick-red flood, and the round, black, saucer-shaped coracle made of shisham wood, and "pitched within and without," hurries about like a huge water-beetle—a testimony to the toughness of naval conventions in preserving the most inadequate form of river craft that the genius of the patriarchs who built the ark ever evolved. The boat bridge shuts off the blue of the far distance and acts as a fine impediment to navigation. Surrounding Bagdad are the open flats of Mesopotamia with their alternations of swamp and desert stretching beyond the fringe of vivid cultivation. To the south, from whence the infidel has arrived to flood the city with his strange military language, are shreds of suburban ruins reaching towards Ctesiphon beyond the Diala River. And here may I say that, knowing that river to be an excep-

tion to the shallow flood-streams of Mesopotamia, and to flow between steep banks as an unfordable stream, and knowing the strength of Turkish defences with such a splendid natural ditch before them, I never anticipated that the Diala position could possibly be carried so soon by direct attack in face of determined opposition. I regard the story of the passage of that river as quite one of the most splendid episodes of the war, which has been full of such. Long may the brave Lancashire boys who achieved it wear that brilliant record on their colours! To the north and north-east along the road which leads to Khanikin, on the Persian border hills, and beyond it to Kermanshah, the road by which our troops have gone to join hands with the Russians, the country is not quite so desolate. There are patches of cultivation, and these patches will be of inestimable value to our divisions. As for the climate, one can only think of it with envy whilst enjoying the amenities of April in England. It must be getting a little too warm, perhaps, but generally it must be delightful at this time of the year, the time when every little valley on the Persian border bursts into a galaxy of flowers. Turning once more to the south, the road to Kerbela starts from the city on the right bank of the river, emerging from the maze of bazaar streets almost directly into the open plain. Once again after riding ten miles or so does the abomination of desolation prevail. And yet it is grand country to ride over. Following the caravan route in the trail of long lines of corpse-laden camels and ponies, there need be no restriction in pace beyond that which your horse requires. In the bright clear desert air of winter it was a charming experience, only clouded somewhat by the primitive form of caravanserai at which one had to put up for the night. A big square wall-enclosed structure offered room enough for animals, but not the vestige of private accommodation for their masters. One slept literally in a manger with one's horse for a presiding angel, and nothing sweet remains in the memory of that beastly halting-place except the coffee. That was unique—but there was not enough of it. At Kerbela we were hospitably entertained by the presiding Mullah—a man of great dignity combined with much affability and information. Thanks to our introduction by the Resident at Bagdad, the short stay at Kerbela was one of unmitigated interest and pleasure. From Kerbela to Hilla and Babylon was a nightmare of difficult and intricate wandering through a maze of water-ways; the perpetual crossing of the Euphrates' network of channels in crazy coracles; and general congratulation when, on sound and open ground, we approached the long lines of dilapidated Babylonian canal banks and could see therefrom the rugged and scarred features of those historic mounds which cover the remains of that ancient city. Leaving Babylon and the picturesque town of Hilla, with its wealth of ancient relics and its industry in creating

new ones, the ride home to Bagdad was but a repetition of the ride out. There were three of us in the party—two sailors from the Royal Naval Contingent in the Persian Gulf and myself. We were met in Bagdad by our charming hostess (the wife of the Resident) with a suggestive hint in the shape of towels and soap that perhaps we would like to experience the pleasures of a Turkish bath before returning to the Residency. It was very thoughtful of her.

Due west from Bagdad our troops have occupied Feluja, on the Euphrates, about forty miles from the city, following the line of telegraph which passes just south of Lake Akkar Kuf. Here we are introduced at once to the great scheme for the regeneration of Mesopotamia by irrigation which was initiated by Sir W. Willcocks. Here is the Feluja barrage, which, together with the upper Hindie barrage near Kerbela, is to regulate the water-supply of the Euphrates throughout the desolate regions between Bagdad and Kerbela and to the far plains of Babylon. Another barrage, or dam, is projected (but not, I think, yet under construction) on the Tigris below Samarra (where the Bagdad railway northward at present ends)—a restoration, in fact, of the ancient Nimrod's dam. These dams, with such ancient reservoirs for overflow as are represented by the Akkar Kuf depression and a vast basin west of Babylon, are the northern features of a magnificent scheme which is to bring life and agricultural wealth to all lower Mesopotamia. Projected by Willcocks, financed (partially, at least) by Germany, and carried out by Turkish engineers, a very fine beginning had already been made towards the realization of a project which might ultimately rival that of the Nile, but which is, after all, only the revival of an ancient system. We have laid our hands on them now. They are inseparable from the responsibilities incurred by the occupation of Bagdad, nor can I see why English direction and Turkish engineering should not finish what has been so well begun. I will not weary you with any repetition of the potential sources of wealth which lie in Mesopotamia. They have been summed up and tabulated so often, and on such excellent authority, that I feel that the last word has been said about them. It is, however, not so often noted that the trade beyond Bagdad into Persia by the great trade centre of Kermanshah (now in Russian hands) was almost exclusively British before the war. We were going to give all this away to Germany. But for the war we should certainly have done so. But the war has opened our eyes and put new values on many things about which we were apathetic and neglectful. We have been awakened to the far-reaching responsibilities of Empire. We must either keep awake to them or have no Empire. We can no longer walk along an uncertain path hoping for the best to eventuate from a perpetual policy of unreadiness. This leads us to ask, "What are we going to do with Bagdad?"



We have heard much of the potential wealth of Mesopotamia. What about its people?" Here I think that our own little Society should make itself useful. We should collect information from every available source; we should get expert opinions for our discussions; we should advocate a policy, and it may well happen that the policy advocated here may be considered elsewhere as worth consideration. That is as much, perhaps, as we dare hope for. To take the broad geographical view, Mesopotamia is a part of Arabia. Ethnographically as well as geographically, and above all historically, we cannot consider Mesopotamia apart from Arabia. Bagdad is associated with the most glorious records of Arabian ascendancy. It has been from its foundation on the site of an earlier Assyrian town a Moslem city, and its geographical position has rendered it a centre from which Moslem aims and institutions have been carried through all the world of Asia. All the great empires of Western Asia in proud historical procession—Elam and Babylon, Assyria, Medea, and Persia—have held their courts and swung their sceptres over the Mesopotamian plains, but it was not till the second of the Abbasid Kalifs selected the site of Bagdad as the capital of Islam that the glory of Damascus, the older capital of the Ommiad Kalifs, paled before the rising significance of the Bagdad of Haroun al-Raschid and the "Arabian Nights." Doubtless it was the wealth of the Mesopotamian plains which led in the first instance to this choice of a capital for Arabia, but, like modern Berlin, it also possessed great advantages as a strategic centre from which to strike outwards at the best, the most civilized, and the wealthiest of Asiatic dominions. It was from Bagdad that the invasion of India was planned and carried out with such astonishing success after Makran had been reduced to a well-ordered province and the roads through it held by Arab legions. Whilst it is impossible to draw any sharp line of distinction geographically between Arabia and Mesopotamia, or, indeed, between Arabia and Syria, that line is sharp enough between Mesopotamia and Persia. Between the Aryan Persian and the Semitic Arab, there is no affinity of race or tongue, and though both Arabs and Persians are Muhammadans the division of sect between Shiah and Sunni is one which has lasted since the beginning of Islam, and is as irreconcilable now as it ever was, so that there is no difficulty in pointing out where Arabia ends and Persia begins. The difficulty lies in the north, where hereafter it may well happen that the line has to be drawn between Mesopotamia and Anatolia, and between Syria and that same country—i.e., where the new Turkey ends and the old Arabia begins. It will be for England to fulfil the proud destiny of restoring Arabia to her geographical place, and with it perchance to revive something of that Semitic energy and the great intellectual ability which once made her foremost amongst the nations of the world. This is fore-



shadowed in the proclamation of Sir S. Maude issued recently at Bagdad: "I am commanded to invite you," he says, "through your nobles and elders and representatives, to participate in the management of your civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain who accompany the British Army, so that you may be united with your kinsmen in the north, east, south and west in realizing the aspirations of your race." These words can only have one meaning, and that is that the Arab is invited to come into his own again. How far that may be under British protection and with British political assistance, or whether England is destined to carry out the splendid scheme of agricultural regeneration so well begun, and to make the desert blossom as the rose, as in Egypt, is carefully and discreetly left to the imagination. Perhaps this is well, for I remember a similar proclamation made by a distinguished General in an Afghan city, in which a distinct promise was included that we would stay and see the reforms through. Alas! a new Government with different party principles decreed that we should leave that town for good, and thus our good friends who had trusted to our word had reason bitterly to lament their faith in us. Sir S. Maude's proclamation is addressed to the "nobles, elders, and representatives" of Arab society in Mesopotamia, and here we are face to face with a practical difficulty. Where are they? The Arab of Mesopotamia is for the most part but a degenerate specimen of his race. There are, indeed, certain Arabs of the towns, merchants and cultivators, who are gentlemen in demeanour and appearance, and it may be that amongst them there may be found exceptional men of administrative ability. It seems hopeless to expect that there will arise any claimant for the honour of governing Bagdad equal in political and military strength to the Sharif of Mecca, the man who has already seized the most ancient capital of all the Arabian capitals, and thrust the Turk out into the wilderness.

It is, of course, as impossible to generalize on such a subject as the idiosyncrasies, the ideals, and the characteristics of the Arab as it would be to class the European of the continent of Europe in one category. Arabia is immense, has always been immense, but the Arab, no matter where he may be within the limits of his vast Asiatic habitat, has been true to his Semitic instincts throughout, and has exhibited a form of homogeneous ethnographical combination which is not to be found in any Aryan or Caucasian admixture of nationalities. Nevertheless, it would be as foolish to summarize the social status of the Arab of the Hedjaz or of the great central plains of Arabia from a study of that of the Arab of Syria, or Mesopotamia, as to accept a Sussex clodhopper or a Yorkshire dalesman as a typical inhabitant of Europe. Even in Mesopotamia the judgment of many writers clearly shows that one can no better estimate the intellectual,

moral, or physical character of the Arab townsman from a casual acquaintance with the wild, disorderly, and disintegrated class of scallywag tribesmen who scour the Mesopotamian deserts, than one can understand the social habits and customs of Mayfair from a study of Whitechapel. Such considerations seem to me to point to one conclusion. Arabia as a mighty whole will never be united into one consolidated nationality governed from one supreme centre, and acknowledging but one overlord. Arabia will never even be a federation of provinces owning allegiance in political and military matters to a central federal administration. Hedjaz, Syria, and Mesopotamia will emerge from Turkish misgovernment as separate and distinct Arab political entities, self-governed and self-protected. The distances between them are too great and communications too difficult. Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad will all be revived as centres of administration, apart from that of Central Arabia. Bagdad, indeed, may well become once again a home of Oriental literature and art. But it will be long ere we can leave Bagdad and Mesopotamia to work out their own salvation. We shall inevitably have to see to it that the Mesopotamian provinces are well guarded and well administered, that the remarkable opportunity for agricultural renovation is brought to a successful issue, and that well-defined and scientific boundaries draw a line between Mesopotamia and the administrative territories of Turkey or of Russia (as the case may be) to the north and north-east, ere we can afford to leave the Bagdad railway and Mesopotamian culture (both human and agrarian) to take care of themselves.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Thomas Holdich has referred to the brilliant success of our arms in and around Bagdad in recent weeks, and to the length of the British arm in reaching to so distant a region. Even if we were not in the midst of this great European War, it would be a striking feat for us to undertake a campaign at such a distance from our shores, seeing that the supplies of all kinds for our troops have to reach them through thousands of miles of submarine-infested seas to the Suez Canal, and then through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and up some 300 miles of river. We must all agree that this is one of the most striking events of the war. We had all hoped that by this spring we should at least regain Kut-el-Amara, but I must say it came to me as a surprise that we were able to go on at once and to reach Bagdad; and not only so, but to go further still, and to reach the end of the railway beyond Bagdad, a distance of about eighty miles. I am sure the meeting wishes to express the deepest sympathy with, and admiration for, the troops who have been able to achieve so wonderful a result, and to convey to them the assurance that even in the midst of this great war their fine exploits were not overlooked or forgotten.

I think the principal point that we shall gather from Sir Thomas's interesting address is this: that Bagdad and the surrounding country is not so much Turkish and not so much connected with the Turks and Constantinople as it is Arab and connected with Mecca, Medina, Nejd, and Damascus. That is an extremely important point for us to bear in mind at this time, because the Turks are not, as many are inclined to think, the real indigenous inhabitants of the country. They are merely there as conquerors, and I do not think they have done very much to improve the condition of the people or of the country, but rather the reverse. Therefore, as Sir Thomas has said, we should keep clearly in our minds that this is an Arab city, connected with Arab centres of civilization. He put forward what I think a very valuable suggestion, that this Society should concern itself with the history of Bagdad and that region in connection with the Arabs, and should endeavour to formulate a definite policy. That will be a matter for the Council to consider, and I am sure the Society would gladly welcome any other lecturers who can give us fuller information and considered opinions upon the subject—one of the most important that will have to be dealt with after peace is secured. The great irrigation schemes to which Sir Thomas referred are particularly interesting to us as Britons, for in India and in Egypt we have constructed the greatest irrigation works the world has ever seen. I am sure we shall be proud to do the same for Mesopotamia.

Sir EDWIN PEARS said he had greatly enjoyed the paper, and the part which most interested him was the latter portion, drawing attention to ethnographic and historic facts which supported a belief of the separation of the Arabs from the Turks. The idea seemed to be the establishment of a great Arab State which should include Mesopotamia, Bagdad, and the regions round the Tigris and Euphrates, and the great mass of Arabia proper. Sir Thomas suggested that the nobles and men of eminence in the Arab State should consider what should be their form of government. They had already done something of that kind. It did not go very far, but so far as it went it appeared to him to be on the right lines. Some eight or nine years ago some leading sheiks in the east of Arabia met and decided that the Kalif of the region should be Mahmud Yahia, who had large possessions in Mesopotamia, and who was of the house of Koreish. After accepting the office he went to Mecca and Medina, and now, according to the most recent reports, he had entirely thrown in his lot with the Sharif of Mecca, who had proclaimed himself King of the Hedjaz. There they were in the presence of a movement which might have great results, and was likely to be on the lines suggested in the paper. What there was in it was not for him or anybody in that room to say. But it showed that remarkable dissensions had arisen, not merely on political, but on religious matters, between the Turks and the Arabs,

and that there was a large amount of unrest. If the Arabs could maintain unity instead of quarrelling among themselves, it was possible that they would ask England, with united voice, to be their protector. As to that he had no doubt that England would be prepared to assume this responsibility. But the English people must remember one thing—that they had nothing to do with the question of the Kalifate. That was a question on which it would be as impertinent for Christians to enforce their opinion as it would be for the Vatican to issue any declaration as to who or who ought not to be Archbishop of Canterbury, or for the Protestants of this country to claim a voice in the election of the Pope. Different views were held, not merely in Turkey and Arabia, but also in India, as to whether the Sultan was Kalif or not. But this was not our business, or only so as it related to the good government of India. He trusted that we might ultimately see a great Arab State, as pictured by Sir Thomas Holdich, occupying Mesopotamia and keeping the peace in Arabia. As to the coming of that day he could only say, "Insh' Allah!"

Colonel JENNINGS mentioned that he had ridden from Bagdad to Kerbala in a day. He wished to express his agreement with the remarks of the lecturer

Mr. S. CHARLES HILL said that they had heard a great deal in the last few years of the route to India via Bagdad in connection with the building of the Bagdad Railway. Of course, from Western Europe to India there had always been three possible routes—the overland route by Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, that by Egypt and the Red Sea, and the long voyage by the Cape. The last, however, had only been opened from the time when the contest of European Powers for control in India began. Amongst the India Office records he had come across an interesting piece of evidence that the possibilities of political power being gained by way of Bagdad were recognized before the close of the eighteenth century. This was contained in a letter written in 1782 by the British Ambassador of Constantinople, which at the request of Sir Thomas Holdich he read to show that the German (or Austrian) idea of reaching India by way of Bagdad was a very old idea. Mr. Hill pointed out that Britain had won control of the Cape route to India by hard fighting with the Portuguese, Dutch and French, and that only a few years later Napoleon tried to open a way to India by Egypt, but failed. In reply to the Ambassador's letter, the representatives of the East India Company at Basra laughed at the German attempt to reach India via Bagdad, knowing the costliness of that route; but the attempt was only postponed, and not abandoned, and the invention of railways, by diminishing the expense, has now brought it within the bounds of practicability. There still remains, however, the same obstacle which baffled Napoleon, for as the only route from Egypt to India is by sea, so the only route to India from

the Persian Gulf (to which the Bagdad Railway must run) is also by sea, and England's sea-power has again come into play.

Mr. H. CHARLES WOODS: Sir Thomas Holdich's paper is so full of interest and charm from beginning to end that, were it not for the late hour, there are many of its aspects upon which I should like to comment. I will, however, confine myself to making references to two points which seem to me to be of considerable importance. The lecturer has spoken of the meaning of our Mesopotamian campaign. We all know that many criticisms were made upon the conduct of that campaign last year, and that at first it was far from successful. But true as this is, I consider that we must always remember the very considerable benefits which resulted from the immediate inauguration of that campaign—benefits bound up with the prevention of the prolongation of the Bagdad Railway from the Bagdad end. The line was opened as far as Samarra in October, 1914—that is, just before the entry of Turkey into the war at the very end of that month. We arrived at Basra on November 21, and, according to reports published at the time, seized material there which was intended for the railway. This means that our rapid occupation of the port of Mesopotamia actually prevented the extension of the railway, for, by the original concession, it was foreseen that material for this part of the line would be imported by way of Basra and conveyed to Bagdad by means of river transport. Had the material actually at Basra remained available, or had the port continued open, there is no doubt that the line could have been prolonged at least as far as Tekrit, up to which point it was incorrectly reported open about eighteen months ago.

If I correctly interpret what Sir Thomas Holdich has said, it is his opinion that in the future Bagdad, Damascus, and Mecca will increase in importance—importance accruing to those places owing to their at least semi-independence of any form of centralized government. With this opinion I am in entire accord, for I feel that in countries such as the present Turkish Empire a completely centralized form of government is a danger to all connected with it. In this connection it has always to be remembered that the complete failure of the Young Turks was due in part to their determination to centralize the strings of government at Constantinople, and to give even less power to local officials than had been the case in the time of Abdul Hamid.

The lecturer has rightly referred to the friendly relations which have existed between the Baktiaris and ourselves in the neighbourhood of the oil-fields. This raises a most important question in that it rightly suggests that, to insure the success of any régime in the East, the susceptibilities and views of the inhabitants must be treated with consideration. We do not yet know, and it is still too early to discuss, what may be the future distribution of, or the forms of government to be established in, what is now Turkey in Asia. But

as parts of it must be repartitioned or divided into spheres of influence, it is well to say now that the Governments responsible for these various parts or spheres will do well to endeavour at all costs to secure the goodwill of the people, and to remember that prosperity and tranquillity largely depend upon enabling the inhabitants to feel that the country is being administered for them, rather than exploited in the interests of foreigners with whom they have no concern.

In concluding these few remarks I would like to say that I am fully in accord with the proposal that this Society should devote its attention to the collection of information concerning the many districts the future of which will be effected by the war. We now know the results of our lack of information at the time of, and after, the outbreak of hostilities, and I am convinced that now, as in the past, we require to have all the historical and other facts at our fingers' ends.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON said that a few days ago he received a letter from a young nephew of his in Basra, which gave an interesting account of a lecture to which he had listened by Lieutenant Anderson, of the Army Service Corps, on Mesopotamia. The point he wished to refer to now was the tribute of Mr. Anderson to the wonderful skill of the ancient engineers which had been exhibited in the old system of canalization. He attributed it to Khammurabi, with whom most of them were more familiar as the Sovereign whose legislation was thought by some to have provided the basis of the Mosaic law. He would like to know from Sir Thomas whether he had heard that the irrigation designed by Sir William Willcocks contemplated the utilization of the ancient anicuts and other works which had been so neglected and injured by the Arabs of Mesopotamia.

Sir THOMAS HOLDICH said that of course he had heard a great deal of the irrigation projects of Sir William Willcocks, and he believed they were based on the very ancient system which locally was attributed to Nimrod. Indeed, everything in that country was attributed to Nimrod. We might be quite sure that that region retained the traditional views current in the days of the Arab Kalifs. In reference to the remarks of Sir Edwin Pears, he feared he did not make himself sufficiently understood on the subject of the Arab States. Mr. Woods had more correctly interpreted his meaning. He did not think Arabia could ever be united again as one great political whole. He thought that decentralization was the only way of dealing with Arabia in these days, when there was no one particular chief of such importance or such power as would enable him to hold together so vast a territory as Arabia. If there was anyone who could achieve this, he would probably be found in one of the central capitals. He believed that the chief Ibn Rashid had more administrative power than had hitherto belonged to any other chief, except perhaps the power which had recently been assumed by the Sharif of Mecca. He



thought it extremely important that after these years of Turkish misgovernment some Arab chiefs should be able to prove themselves strong enough to take a share in the work of administering the country. He looked upon administrative decentralization between Medina, Damascus, and Mesopotamia as positively certain in the readjustments that would follow the war.

NOTE BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

I refrained on April 25 from prolonging the discussion on Sir Thomas Holdich's paper on "Bagdad." I now offer some remarks as an appendix to the discussion. The future that lay before Mesopotamia was very clearly indicated by the late Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, when he visited Basra shortly before he vacated the Vicroyalty, and not long after Lieut.-General Sir A. A. Barrett, in command of the Expeditionary Force sent from India, had occupied it. What Lord Hardinge said at Basra was read by the hundreds of millions who peruse the daily Press, and left little doubt in the public mind that His British Majesty's Government was convinced that Mesopotamia under British administration would be a much greater boon to the world than it had been since the Turks came there. Lord Hardinge spoke as one who, having been Ambassador at St. Petersburg and Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office (as he is once more now), and also Viceroy of India, could speak with knowledge and authority. Intelligence has more recently reached us that the Chief Political Officer attached to the Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia has been in touch with several of the Arab potentates of the interior of Arabia. The explorations carried out within the last few years by such men as Captain Leachman, of the Sussex Regiment, and the late Captain Shakespear have no doubt paved the way for such communication; while to the names of Burton, Blunt, and Palgrave we may now add as travellers in Arabia or visitors to Mecca a number of others, including that of Captain Wavell, who fell some eighteen months ago in East Africa.

The name of "Bagdad" is now inseparably associated with the great railway concession through the medium of which Berlin aimed at Asiatic dominion. That aim is now doomed to be shattered, and, despite the professions of the Russian Republican party that they desire no annexations of freshly acquired territory, it is practically certain that Russia cannot dissociate herself from the policy of her Allies, Britain, France, and Italy, and that she must accept her share of the responsibility which the partial dissolution of the Turkish Empire will throw upon Europe and, indeed, the civilized world. Some years have elapsed since the *Bourse Gazette* of St. Petersburg growled out: "If we wait much longer about taking Constantinople, Japan and the United States of America will have a finger in the pie." St. Petersburg has waited, and Japan and the United States will have a finger in that pie, as the coming International Peace Congress will show. We need hardly concern ourselves now to anticipate that what Russia has coveted for a century or two, and Messrs. Sazonoff and Trepoff have recently signalized as Russia's reward for this war, can have any other destiny. Nor is it necessary to discuss at present the ambitions of France and Italy. It suffices to indicate that the British



Empire, in addition to Mesopotamia, requires control of the railway from Alexandretta to the Persian Gulf, and of the port of Alexandretta, and also is very strongly interested in the international railway which will sooner or later link Ultima Thule with the Cape of Good Hope, passing by the Bosphorus, the Cilician Gates, and Cairo. The decentralization of the Turkish Empire was the theme of both the lecturer and one or two of the subsequent speakers. What was not demonstrated was the part that the Christian Powers would play in that decentralization. Not a word was said about the susceptibilities of the 300 to 350 millions of Mohammedans in the world, of whom 100 millions and more are His Britannic Majesty's subjects. I know that there are very enlightened thinkers, Mussulman as well as Christian, who have conceived a Pan-Islamic confederacy under the hegemony of the British Empire. The idea is not one to be scouted. At any rate, at this moment Islam is watching with the keenest attention the fate of the Caliphate. It is more than doubtful if the Turk would have opened her arms to Germany, had she seen any other channel of escape from the Damoclean sword that hung over her. Some years ago the project of administering the provinces of Asia Minor by Christian officials nominated by the Great Powers of Europe was tentatively put forward. I have heard, and that on authority which admits of no doubt, that the Porte went so far as to offer the administration of Anatolia to a distinguished subject of His Majesty King George V.; but the flattering invitation was declined. One thing is now certain: the issue of this war will in some measure comfort the souls of Crusaders, and undenominationalism will establish itself in due course in the territories which for centuries have been the battlefield of the Cross and the Crescent. For my own part I have no wish to see Jerusalem become the pocket-borough of either a Christian, Mussulman, or Jewish community. I would internationalize it and restore it to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the only living representatives of the erst Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and well known for their broad-minded and cosmopolitan views. Every nation in Europe has a hand in the Hospitallers, and Jerusalem and Rhodes would be as well administered in their hands, and better, too, perhaps, than in those of any individual Power.

Letters from Mesopotamia just now are not allowed to say much. The censorship is jealous. I have, however, just received one from an officer who prides himself on having commanded a regiment of the "first division that entered Bagdad," and awards the credit to the "three M's" thus:

"I think General Maude has run the show most awfully well, and, further, I expect much is due to General Money, the Chief of his Staff, not to mention McMunn, who has just got his K.C.B." Such is the concise and undoctored despatch which, as far as I am aware, is the first in the field.



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OF  
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

*CORRECTED TO MAY 17, 1917*

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

### Chairman :

1916. THE RT. HON. SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.,  
K.C.I.E.

### Vice-Presidents :

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.  
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.  
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.  
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.  
1908. RT. HON. LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

### Hon. Treasurer :

1915. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

### Hon. Secretary :

1916. E. PENTON, ESQ.

### Members of the Council :

1915. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I.  
1915. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ., C.I.E.  
1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.  
1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.  
1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.  
1916. COLONEL E. ST. CLAIR PEMBERTON, R.E.  
1916. MISS ELLA SYKES.  
1915. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
1914. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.  
1914. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

### Secretary

1905. MISS HUGHES.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

—♦—

*The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.*

### A

1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.  
 †Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W.  
 1916. Ainscough, T. M., Artillery Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 1912. Allen, G. B., Free Chase, Warninglid, Sussex.

### B

1908. Baddeley, F. J., 34, Bruton Street, W.  
 1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.  
 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.  
 1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.  
 10 1905. \*BARNES, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Woodlands Corner, West Byfleet, Surrey. M. of C.  
 1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W.  
 1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, A.D.C. to C-in-C. Advance G.H.Q., and Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.  
 \*†BENNETT, T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.  
 1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W.  
 1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.  
 1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.  
 Bosanquet, O. V., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, Indore, C.I.  
 1916. †Bruce, General C. D., Wynters Grange, Harlow, Essex.  
 20 †Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.  
 1912. Bury, The Viscount, Guards' Club, 70 Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.

### C

1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.  
 1903. \*CHIROL, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W., Vice-President.

1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockrind, Simla.
1914. Crewdson, Wilson, J.P., F.S.A., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1914. Crewdson, Captain W. T. O., R.F.A., Nowshera, India.
- †Crow, Mrs. F. A., 17, Westgate Terrace, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.
1907. Cuninghame, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
- 3** 1907. \*CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. Vice-President.

## D

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
1908. Daukes, Captain C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India.
- †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.
1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
1903. \*Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
1906. Dobbs, H. R. C., C.I.E., I.C.S., Off. Commissioner N.W. Frontier Province, India.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W.
1903. \*†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W.
- 40** 1907. \*DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmain House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall. Chairman.

## E

- †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.
1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India

## F

1907. Fancourt, Col. St. J. F. M., C.B., Deancroft, near Stowmarket, Suffolk.
1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.
1916. Fraser, The Hon. Mr. S. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., the Resident, Hyderabad, India.
1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.

## G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.V.O., C.S.I., c/o The War Office, Whitehall.
- 50** 1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry,

1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W.  
 1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., 7, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W.

## H

1904. \*Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.  
 †Hills-Johnes, General Sir James, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothy, Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales.  
 \*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. Vice-President.  
 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

## I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.  
 1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.  
 1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W.

## J

- 60** \*†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.  
 †Jardine, Mrs., Monmouth House, Stanley Avenue, Wembley, Middlesex.  
 1916. Jardine, Sir John, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.P., Applegarth, Godalming, Surrey.  
 \*†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.  
 1908. Jennings, Col. R. H., R.E. (ret.), C.S.I., 20, Roland Gardens, S.W.

## K

1907. \*KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, W. M. of C.  
 1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

## L

1904. \*LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W., Vice-President.  
 1914. Laurie, W. J. C., I.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Behar and Orissa, Bhagalpur, India.  
**70** 1907. \*Lawrence, Sir Walter, Bart., G.C.I.E., 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W.  
 1908. \*Lloyd, Capt. George A., M.P., D.S.O., 48, Wilton Crescent, S.W.



1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co.,  
Bombay, India.  
1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W.  
1909. Lyall, Captain, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley,  
N.W.F. Province, India.

## M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Kashgar,  
Chinese Turkestan.  
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard  
Street, E.C.  
1903. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.  
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59,  
Pont Street, S.W.  
1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland  
Avenue.  
**80** 1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.  
1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. M. of C.  
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle  
Street, Piccadilly, W.  
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Commonwealth Bank, New Broad Street,  
E.C.  
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

## N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 10, Holland Park  
Court, Holland Park Gardens, W.  
1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Com-  
missioner, Peshawar, India.

## O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul,  
Shiraz, Persia.  
1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service  
Club, Charles Street, S.W.

## P

- 90** 1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.  
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.  
1907. Pemberton, Col., R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly,  
W., and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.  
\*†PENTON, E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.  
Hon. Sec.  
†Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.  
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, W.  
\*†Picot, Colonel, Indian Army (ret.), Hotel Beau Séjour,  
Lausanne.

## R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.  
 1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General,  
 The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.  
 1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.  
**100** 1904. \*RIDGEWAY, The Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,  
 K.C.S.I., LL.D., 10, Ormonde Gate, S.W.  
 \*†RONALDSHAY, H.E. THE EARL OF, Governor of Bengal,  
 Government House, Calcutta, India. Vice-President.  
 1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W.

## S

1907. Salano, E. J., 4, Park Lane, W.  
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military  
 Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.  
 1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele,  
 Florence, Italy.  
 1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co.,  
 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superin-  
 tendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province,  
 India, 23, Merton Street, Oxford.  
 1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force,  
 Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.  
 1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché  
 at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W.  
**110** 1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W.  
 †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.  
 1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.  
 1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.  
 1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.,  
 Shiraz, via Petrograd and Teheran.

## T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.  
 1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 96, Brook Green, W.  
 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.  
 1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., Indian Army, 7th Hariana Lancers,  
 Jacobabad, Sind, India.  
 1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe  
 Square, S.W.  
**120** 1907. \*TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place,  
 S.W. M. of C.  
 1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32,  
 Hans Mansions, S.W.  
 1908. \*TUCKER, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

## V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.

# W

- 1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
- 1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
- †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
- †Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W.
- 1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, Ambala, Punjab, India.
- 130** 1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W.

# Y

- \*†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. M. of C.
- 1905. \*Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W.
- 1916. Yorke, Mrs. F., Ladies' Imperial Club, 17, Dover Street, W., and Oakholme Cottage, Staplers, near Newport, Isle of Wight.
- \*†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Vice-President.

# RULES

OF

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Chairman, (2) the Honorary Treasurer, and (3) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be a Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the

Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the former is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Hon. Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—i.e., the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.



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OF THE  
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. IV.

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1917

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PART III.

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## CONTENTS

### VOLUME IV., PART III.

	PAGE
MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA AFTER THE WAR. <i>By Mr.</i>	
<i>Demetrius Boulger</i> - - - - -	59
THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD. <i>By</i>	
<i>Mr. A. Boddam Taylor</i> - - - - -	72
ANNUAL MEETING - - - - -	90

## MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA AFTER THE WAR.

At a meeting of the Society on May 30, 1917, Mr. Demetrius Boulger read a paper on this subject. At the commencement of the proceedings,

SIR FREDERIC FRYER announced that the Council had that afternoon elected Sir Henry Trotter to be their chairman for the ensuing year, and that he had kindly consented to serve.

Colonel SIR HENRY TROTTER then took the chair, and said that during the year he would do everything in his power to further the interests of the Society. It was quite an unexpected honour, and very gratifying to him, to be thought worthy of the position. He hoped the Society would continue its good work and prosper as it had done in the past year, during which they had had larger attendances at their meetings than any he could recollect. Mr. Boulger was known to most of them as an author. One of the first works he ever wrote was a life of YakooB Beg of Kashgar, which appeared in 1878. It was a curious coincidence that he (the speaker) was their chairman for the first time at this lecture, and that his own first connection with Central Asia was as a member of the mission to YakooB Beg in 1873-74. One of Mr. Boulger's last works was a history of the Battle of the Boyne; but in the interval there had come from his pen a vast amount of work both in books, in leading reviews and magazines, and in journals.

Mr. BOULGER said: Among the great surprises of the War, when we have the leisure to examine our feelings, will be reckoned the speeding up of those old questions which we had been studying for the better part of a century, only to conclude that they appeared unsolvable, and that they would have to be handed on as a legacy to men wiser than ourselves. Think for a few brief minutes of General Chesney and his Euphrates Valley railway scheme; of William Andrew, who carried on his efforts and was ever ready to procure the millions necessary to give them practical form; of Reignier Conder, who toiled persistently in Heth and Moab with his face set towards the same goal. All their energy, all their enthusiasm, was of no avail; their counsels

fell on ears that would not listen, and the field that was within our grasp was weakly abandoned and resigned to a rival. Our recent heavy sacrifices in Mesopotamia and Syria will not have been in vain if the old apathy has been uprooted, and if we see with clearer vision than before where our true interests are involved. Thus human progress, instead of concentrating its efforts in new countries where tradition exists not, may once more attain its full vigour and its highest development in the heart of the Old World amid the scenes made famous and familiar to us by Xenophon and Herodotus, the Bible and the Crusades.

Eighty years ago General Chesney returned from his first expedition to Mesopotamia, and his main conclusions are just as sound to-day as when they were uttered. He reported in favour of the Valley of the Euphrates as against that of the Tigris; he selected Alexandretta Iskanderun, Alexander's commercial city, as the port for the Levant, and Koweit as the port for the Persian Gulf, and no later explorer has shaken the wisdom of his choice, although some have played with the idea of reviving Seleucia Pieria at the mouth of the Orontes. But Chesney's first scheme was based on a bilateral project of a railway from Alexandretta to the Euphrates at or near Birijek, and of water transport by river steamers from that place, the highest navigable point of the Euphrates, to the Persian Gulf, a distance of 1,100 miles by the river. He even founded on the Euphrates, near the town named, as a starting-point for river steamers, Port William. I do not find that German map-makers have perpetuated the name, but the fact stands on record. Chesney's main argument in support of this alternative route to India was his conviction that the Suez Canal was quite practical and, speaking thirty years before its accomplishment, inevitable. But although his expedition was officially supported and subsidized, nothing came of his scheme or the proposals by which it was to be brought to success. Political considerations barred the way. The Syrian question was then in an acute stage, and when William IV., on receiving General Chesney, asked the question, "What do my Ministers say to your proposals?" he could only reply that he met with little encouragement from any of them. The King's comment is well worth remembering: "People sometimes hesitate till the opportunity is lost."

Twenty years, or nearly so, passed. The Syrian question had been put to sleep. England and France were allies, Turkey was their friend, and in a sense their ward. The Euphrates Valley scheme was revived, not as a mixed undertaking, but boldly, openly, as an unbroken railway line of 920 miles in length across Syria down the river to the Gulf. Mr. William Andrew, the chairman of an Indian railway, threw himself into the project, formed the company on his own initia-

tive, raised a million pounds in one day, the capital he required, and rejected the offers of four times that sum made in the next few days, of which there was no need for the moment. Chesney hastened to the scene of his former labours, and this time it did not look as if his confidence would be disappointed. The survey of the line was carried very far, if not completed; all difficulties on the spot and at Constantinople were removed; and the cost of construction was fixed at the moderate total of five millions, how moderate you can infer from the fact that the Germans had already expended three times the sum on the Asia Minor railway when the War began. At the very moment that success seemed to be assured fresh difficulties arose, not with the Turks or the Arabs, who greeted Chesney as their father, but with our own authorities. "There is a black mark at the Foreign Office against the Euphrates Valley railway," someone wrote to Chesney—one of those black marks of which the cause and origin can never be traced.

Another twenty years, or nearly so, passed. The Suez Canal had come into existence; the Euphrates Valley railway had become, apparently, no more than the dream of a few enthusiasts. It seemed like knocking one's head against a brick wall to talk of reviving it, and then suddenly in 1872, by the efforts of Mr. William Andrew, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to consider the whole question. It took evidence and it summoned witnesses in the usual way. General Chesney was sent for and examined during several days. He told a friend that he feared he was hardly at his best—he was then over eighty—but his statements were lucid and the old enthusiasm was not entirely gone, if tempered by the disappointment of a lifetime. His pleading was not wholly in vain. The Committee drew up a report which in general terms endorsed his views. It was "in favour of a line from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf via the Valley of the Euphrates, in preference to that of the Tigris," and its grand conclusion was to the effect that the need of an alternative route between the Mediterranean and India had been established.

Once again success seemed imminent. Even the troubles in the Balkans which followed were regarded as only imposing a temporary check on the realization of the project, and when the Anglo-Turkish Convention was signed in 1878 the last barrier to a complete accord between Turkey and this country was pronounced removed, and of course we all concluded, the old veterans of the cause and the new recruits then coming in, that the first-fruit of the agreement would be the commencement of the Euphrates Valley railway.

Any attempt to explain why these hopes, reasonable in themselves and based on the best available knowledge, were falsified, why nothing was done, would be not only perilous and indiscreet at this time, but

it would entail immense and probably inconclusive research and labour. It is safer to resume the chronicle. The last effort to obtain official support was made by Sir William Andrew, who had received the honour of knighthood for his railway work in Scinde and the Indus Valley in 1880, when he headed a deputation to Lord Cranbrook, then Secretary of State for India. The main request was to obtain from the Government of India a modest subsidy in return for the carriage of mails. Something was promised, something even might have been done, but a change of Government ensued. Mr. Gladstone came into office, and he had never been in favour of the Euphrates Valley scheme. Sir William Andrew was in his turn discouraged, and relaxed what seemed an unavailing activity, and the question, which had up to that point been argued on public and patriotic grounds as relating to an indispensable link in the chain of our communications with India, passed out of the political arena, and seemed till the other day to have been relegated to oblivion, or at least to an obscure page in the large volume that might be entitled "the lost opportunities of England."

It may be said, then, that in the year 1880 the Euphrates Valley scheme as a political railway, after many vicissitudes, died a natural death, but there remained a possibility of carrying it out partially, or, as a whole, on the basis of a purely commercial venture. New figures appeared on the scene, and a great meeting was held at Stafford House under the Duke of Sutherland's auspices. It was necessary in the first place to obtain the Sultan's firman and a fresh concession to make a new start. One man among us alone possessed, not merely the energy, but the means to second his energy and enterprise. Mr. Edward Cazalet proceeded to Constantinople, and as secrecy was an element of success, he went there on his own steam yacht. He went, arrived, and conquered. The prearranged telegram reached London informing us, who were anxiously awaiting the result, that the mission was successful, that the firman had been given, that the concession had been drawn up and signed. Mr. Cazalet sailed away from the scene of his triumph, and we waited, hopefully this time, to receive further news from him at Malta. It is thirty-four years ago, but my impression is that the next message came from the Piræus—at all events, Mr. Cazalet had died suddenly on board his yacht, two days, if I remember aright, after leaving Constantinople. With that tragic incident the story of the Euphrates Valley railway scheme reached its end.

The year 1883, which saw the extinction of these hopes, was also the turning-point in Anglo-Turkish relations. The concession was rendered more or less of a dead-letter by the death of its acceptor; Abdul Hamid began to listen to German counsellors and to take German officers into his service. Externally there was not much to be seen,

but everyone who knew Constantinople agreed in reporting that the Porte was obstructive, and that English advice fell on deaf ears. In the end English influence sank to zero, the Germans became predominant, and their Bagdad railway superseded that advocated by Chesney and his successors down the Valley of the Euphrates. So greedy were the German cormorants that they even gobbled up the little local line built by British engineers and capital from Mersina to Adana, and thus in 1906, for that epoch at least, we were expelled from the slight foothold we had established on the shore of the Levant.

It is necessary to remember these things of the past when the time comes for us to make new arrangements in providing for the future. The critics of the old project, or at least some of them, used to declare that we proposed to build a railway through a desert for the benefit of some nomad tribes who dealt in dates. General Chesney had in 1833 described Mesopotamia as "a country the natural wealth of which far exceeds that of Egypt." I have recently had occasion to read the correspondence of an officer serving on the Tigris. It contains no military references whatever, but it is full of interesting details of the country, dilates on the manifest signs of extraordinary capacity for development, and dwells on the fact that the desert sand has only to be kicked up to reveal some relic of the past which establishes the existence of ancient civilizations differing in kind, but equal to our own. In proof of this he has sent home fragments of coloured glass that preceded that of Venice by thousands of years, chips of pottery and ware such as modern Europe first imported from China less than two centuries ago. I will not say more lest the Censor, in his zeal to establish the necessity of his own existence, should place an embargo on what promises to prove an interesting and growing collection.

This in its way corroborates the general statement to which General Chesney committed himself eighty years ago.

It may be said again, as it was said in the past, what have we to do in the lands of Syria and Mesopotamia, what call have we to venture forth to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris? I well remember a very great English statesman saying in my presence that he deprecated all enterprises away from the sea, and on that principle he could not favour the Euphrates Valley project. But those were the days of absolute implicit belief in the phrase, "the command of the seas." No one can talk in that sense any longer. Naval power has its limitations. Our calculations must include problems of the air, and of the vast hidden realms of power below the surface of the oceans. The importance of land communication is enhanced, not diminished, by recent events. The necessity of alternative routes supplementing each other, keeping some lines of traffic and transport open when others are closed, is one that may be called self-evident. It will not do for any



critic to attempt to snuff out the Euphrates railway and the development of Mesopotamia with an assertion that it is all visionary. The ground has been taken from under his feet by the action of the Germans. Have they constructed their line across Asia Minor, have they pierced the Taurus, for Quixotic reasons? Have they not kept before themselves from the beginning as an incentive the vision of restoring Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia to their ancient splendour when they were the seats and centres of the five great monarchies? Backwards and forwards swayed the balance of power. Syria lorded it at one time over Mesopotamia and Persia; Mesopotamia or Babylonia in its turn subjected all the lands to the Mediterranean; Persia at another moment seemed in a fair way to establish her hegemony in Western Asia on Hohenzollern principles. But under them all the central capital, whether it was Nineveh or Persepolis, Babylon or Palmyra, ranked among the marvels of the world, the centres of wealth and luxury not to be found elsewhere.

The Germans knew all these things. They took up the standpoint that what had been may be revived. They relied on engineering science. The Bagdad railway was to be their lever. They even invoked and obtained for a time the services of that great English hydraulic engineer, Sir William Willcocks, to husband and harness the waters of the Euphrates as he had done those of the Nile. In face of these facts it would be impossible for anyone to say to-day that the Euphrates Valley railway is the dream of visionaries, and that Mesopotamia is a hopeless desert, fit only for roaming tribes, and that it must remain so. We must again adopt the point of view of the Parliamentary Committee of 1872, when it reported in favour of the provision of an alternative route between the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and India.

It should be some encouragement to us in doing this to remember that both Syria and Mesopotamia have in certain parts enjoyed for at least one period of history the benefits of Christian administration set up and sustained amid incalculable difficulties and perils by a mere handful of the races of Western Europe—French and Flemings, Lorrainers and Italians, some Normans and some English, the German element alone being conspicuously absent. I refer to the Frank kingdoms of Jerusalem and Edessa. Captain Conder held that they only perished because recruiting declined at the European bases, but their existence, which was certainly curtailed by the Mongol invasions, shows conclusively that Western authority and principles of life and governance could be upheld under difficulties that no longer exist in detached sections of the vast region that we cannot ignore without leaving our formidable rival master of the ground. You will not forget that the assizes of Jerusalem introduced by Godfrey of Bouillon

constituted a measure of jurisprudence in the territory of the Muslim which may well have been in the mind of Francis I., King of France, when he secured the famous Capitulations. Those reserved rights of French tradition, we must not allow ourselves to forget through haste or preoccupation, are entitled to respect, and furnish a basis of hearty and sincere co-operation.

In conclusion, I will submit to you that the question of Syria and Mesopotamia is no longer a matter of the Euphrates railway alone. The railway from the Levant, not from the Bosphorus, is to be our lever, the master-key to the position in the Near and Middle East. But the task to be accomplished is to restore their lost prosperity to these famous lands which have been allowed so long to remain derelict. Not only our own interests, but the needs of the world demand it. The region watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris was once the greatest granary of the world known to the ancients. There is no reason why, with the aid of the engineer and the chemist, it should not become so again. An authority on the subject estimated that with good government the province of Karamania, which lies to the north-west of Syria and is less favourably situated than Mesopotamia, could produce a surplus stock of five million quarters of corn every year. That is but an example. Good government provides the real cure of the evils which Western Asia has so long suffered, a government that is founded on peace and order such as we have taught India and Egypt to value. But the first step towards its attainment is the introduction of a new railway system in Syria and the Valley of the Euphrates, based on the needs of commerce and traffic and not on those of strategy and ambition; and some prominent and influential Englishman or group of Englishmen would do well to throw themselves now, without waiting till the end of the War, into the task of reviving the project of General Chesney and Sir William Andrew—a project that may at last be deemed secure from petty criticism, and against which the black mark referred to in older times must have been long ago removed.

Finally, we cannot eliminate the Turk, our late friend and temporary enemy. He must be brought round to see that his true interests point to his rallying to the support of measures that will benefit himself and his country, and then it will be possible to say once more, as was said by one of our old travellers, that "the name of Englishman served as a talisman with high and low throughout the lands of the Ottoman."

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Boulger had dealt very much with the past and very little with the future, and his suggestion towards the end of the lecture that Mesopotamia was likely to remain in the hands

of the Turks was one which he hoped would not turn out to be correct (Mr. BOULGER: Not the Turkish Government, but the Turks.) One of their vice-presidents, Sir Thomas Holdich, wrote a most interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, in which he discussed the future boundaries of Turkey. He pointed out the likelihood that what remained of European Turkey and Constantinople would fall into the hands of Russia, and that Syria and Palestine would fall into the hands of some Christian Power; but he very wisely refrained from saying what Christian Power it was to be—whether Russia, France, or England. He abstained from prophesying as to the further question of the possible setting up of a Jewish Empire. So far as Arabia was concerned, he urged that it should be in Arab hands under the protection of Great Britain. He also considered that Mesopotamia should be an independent Arab State, but with the strategic points and the railways under the control of Great Britain. The whole country from Trebizond and eastward of that line would fall to Russia, it being very desirable that what remained of the Armenian population and the Nestorian Christians should fall into the hands of a civilized Power. The Turks would be confined to Asia Minor. They were fairly homogeneous, and this would probably be the best thing that could happen to them. They would probably make their capital either at Broussa or at Smyrna. However, that was all in the distant future, and it was very difficult for anyone to prophesy what was going to happen. He himself had made a good many prophecies about the War, and many of them had turned out correctly. But on one occasion in this room he said he was certain that the Russians would not be able to take Erzeroum in the winter-time; yet three days later he learned that they had done so. Since then he had been very chary about prophesying.

He was in Constantinople when the first German military mission arrived there, and also when the German Emperor paid his first visit to the late Sultan. At that time German influence was small; to-day history testifies to its power. The lecturer had rather inferred that the German work on the Bagdad railway was mainly based on philanthropic views, with the idea of benefiting the country and the people; but perhaps he had misunderstood him on that point. (Mr. BOULGER: No; I did not say so. I don't believe in German philanthropy.) It seemed to him that the countries of which they had been speaking would continue to be a source of controversy and difficulty in the future, as Macedonia had been in the days of Turkish rule. Macedonia comprised a great agglomeration of different races, and the same remark applied to Mesopotamia and also to Syria. How the various races of Mesopotamia were to be governed and who was to govern them would be a burning question in the future.

Sir EDWIN PEARS, after congratulating the Society on the election of Sir Henry Trotter as chairman, said that the paper was very interesting in refreshing their memory as to the events of the past. It had been his lot to watch at close quarters the unfolding of those events from a focus differing from that of Mr. Boulger. He was in Constantinople when the successive efforts to obtain railway concessions detailed in the paper were made. He had the pleasure of acquaintance with that perfectly charming man, Mr. Edward Cazalet, who went to the Porte for the purpose, and who was in a dying state when taken on to his yacht for the return journey. He followed what was done on that occasion, and his memory did not confirm the view of the lecturer as to the obstinacy with which the Euphrates Valley scheme was blocked. The Sultan, Abdul Hamid, could be as obstinate as anyone when it suited him and his purpose; but it was not on this rock that the scheme foundered. He gathered that Mr. Boulger was well acquainted with the group in England seeking the concession, and therefore he presumably knew that there were in the case intermediaries who demanded backsheesh of a tremendous character, with the result that the Duke of Sutherland and those connected with him decided to drop the whole thing rather than give money in that reckless fashion, and as to which no account could be given. That disposed of the Cazalet business.

With reference to the local line built by British engineers and capital from Mersina to Adana, he was chairman of the line for a number of years, and after retiring from that position he continued to be a member of the council when the Germans took it over. It was no use abusing the Germans for things they had not done or which they had done properly. What happened was this: The railway was held by British shareholders to the extent of 55 per cent., and French shareholders held the remaining 45 per cent. This was so for a long time, until the Germans contrived to buy the whole of the French shares in block, and meantime, whenever any shares came on the market in London, they were bought up by the Germans. So one fine morning our board found that 60 per cent. of the shares of the line had passed into German hands. Thereupon he (Sir Edwin) resigned, as did every English and French member of the board. Subsequently Mr. Gwinner went to him with another member of the German board and requested him to stay on it as an ordinary member. Mr. Gwinner had been elected chairman, but they had determined to ask him and Sir William Whitall to remain on the board. He declined to answer until he had consulted Sir William. What had happened was that debentures had been issued in London, drawn up in an English technical form no German could understand. In these circumstances Sir William and he concluded that it was their duty to remain on the board in the interests of the English share and bond holders, in order to see

that the debentures were fairly dealt with. Sir William remained on the board till his death, and he (Sir Edwin) remained on it until the outbreak of the war with Turkey. There was no fault to be found with the Germans in buying up the line, for it was an ordinary business operation.

He would now pass to another question, and a more important one—namely, that of the desirability of the Euphrates line of which the lecturer had spoken, and of the attitude of the British Government toward it in later years. Now, it was not to be assumed that our Foreign Office was ill-informed on matters of that kind, or would fail to encourage such a project without having good reasons for it. Let him remind those who did not know the country that the whole district lying between Asia Minor and the Persian Gulf consisted of desert, except where the line would cross between the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates. During the larger portion of the year it was incapable of producing anything. He had the fullest sympathy with the projects of Sir William Willcocks for providing irrigation works to make Mesopotamia as productive as the Valley of the Nile. But the desert would not blossom as the rose unless the supply of water was adequate, and this was more than doubtful. In that room he pointed out a year ago what great climatic changes had gone on in that portion of the world, and that centuries ago they had already gone far to block up the three overland trade-routes from the Levant. They must not delude themselves into thinking that the desert could be made fruitful again after such changes in natural conditions. A friend of his who motored the whole way from Alexandretta to Bagdad said that with the expenditure of less than £1,000 the road could be put right, enabling a service of motor-cars to run the whole distance from Alexandretta to Bagdad in four days. But while a desert road was good for motor-ing, the country was too sparsely populated for the development of a considerable rail-borne traffic. Why did our Government decline responsibility for the undertaking first postponed by Chesney? Because they found, as every investigator who had examined the question had found, that whatever justification there might be for construction of the line as a military operation, like the road from Constantinople to Salonika, it could never possibly pay as a commercial undertaking. Russia had made many such roads, Germany had also made many such roads; but they were military not commercial undertakings. Our Government was not thinking of a military road when it decided not to support the Euphrates project. It had no intention of invading India, and it did not contemplate that anybody else was going to entertain such a project. But it worked out the question, and worked it out satisfactorily, that in the circumstances of the case land transport could never pay against water transport. Eastern

produce for the English market, under such a scheme, would be shipped from Colombo or from Bombay, would be taken up the Persian Gulf to port, and then be railed some 1,800 miles to the Bosphorus. That would be a very costly business, and would not be very much quicker, to say the least, in normal times than the through mail steamers by the Suez Canal. As to passengers, very few would prefer this alternative form of journey to and from the East. The fact was that it was the economic risk that caused our Government to look askance at the proposals for the Euphrates Valley railway. If anyone thought that the time had come for the revival of such a project, he would ask them to look carefully into the question, and not be in a hurry to conclude that the scheme was practicable and desirable. Like the chairman, he did not care to indulge in prophecies; but he thought it would probably be found at the end of the War that the conclusion reached by the British Government years ago should be reaffirmed. There were many circumstances which urged them to favour the Euphrates Valley railway; but looking all round, they concluded that the best thing was to let it alone, and leave it to be dealt with by men simply looking at the economical aspect. If there were military reasons for the line in the altered circumstances, that was another question altogether.

He was glad to have heard what Mr. Boulger had said. It was always well to be reminded of the curious story of the past, and without making prophecies they might derive a certain amount of encouragement in looking at the schemes which had been rejected, and of hope that which might prove accepted and acceptable to our Government would not be matters of hasty consideration.

Mr. H. CHARLES WOODS said that as the lecturer had referred to the question of the cost of railways in Asia Minor, he would have wished that he had given them more figures. He thought he was correct in saying that as far as Konia, the Anatolian Railway Company's kilometric guarantees were more or less covered by the increase in the value of the local taxation. (Sir EDWIN PEARS: Very nearly so.) He was not in any way anxious to praise the system of guarantees, but the effect of the line to which he had referred in developing the country must be considered in this connection. With reference to the introduction of German influence in Asia Minor, Mr. Boulger talked of its beginning in 1883. He (the speaker) did not know the exact date of arrival of the first German officers as instructors for the Ottoman army, but he thought they would be more correct if they said that the real German penetration of Turkey began from the accession of the present Kaiser, and that it was greatly furthered by the visits of that Monarch to Turkey in 1889 and 1898. The lecturer rather gave them to understand that from about 1883 the English



ceased to have any interest at all in Asia Minor. As a matter of fact, it was about 1888 that the Haidar Pasha-Ismia line was taken over by the Germans. But for years after that, and even up to the time of the outbreak of war, this country still held a controlling interest in the Smyrna-Aidin line, with which Sir Edwin Pears or members of his distinguished family were associated.

With reference to the question whether Turkey or the Turks were to remain in Mesopotamia, he thought he might be considered to have been friendly to the Turks in the days of peace. But so far as Mesopotamia was concerned, it was not a question of Turkey or even of the Turks. Mesopotamia belonged to the Arabs. Whatever the future arrangements might be, and whoever was the Protecting Power, it was a matter of vital importance that she should consider, study, and respect Arab interests. Whatever autonomy might be given, and whatever local government might be set up, it was the interests of the local inhabitants that we had to study. He felt that the lecture had served a purpose in reminding them of so many facts and details extending over a great number of years.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON said that having travelled by the Mersina-Tarsus and Adana railway some thirty years ago, he would like to say that he was struck by the contrast suggested by Mr. Boulger between the idea of a railway across Asia Minor through Mesopotamia to the head of the Persian Gulf, starting from the Bosphorus, and one starting from Alexandretta. It would have been very interesting if Mr. Boulger had discussed the comparative recommendations of these alternative routes. So far as he could conjecture, the Germans took the Asia Minor route at a time when facilities in railway construction had greatly developed, as one which was more handy for the "Central Empires'" traffic, while we naturally favoured the Alexandretta route, since we had easy access to it by sea. Another question he wished to raise was how far the Turks would be really capable of governing the populations of Asia Minor and act as a cement of them if that country alone was left to them. Not very long ago he heard a very interesting paper by Sir William Ramsay in which he described the exceedingly heterogeneous character of the populations of different valleys in Asia Minor, where there were isolated groups of people who did not marry outside their own villages, who spoke different languages, and who had customs differing very widely from one another.

Mr. TAYLOR said that, having lived thirty years in the country they had been discussing, he wished to refer to the point raised by Sir Edwin Pears as to water carriage being so much cheaper than rail. This was no doubt the case, especially when carriage by rail involved unloading and reshipment. He could not agree with what Sir Edwin said as to the unfruitfulness of Mesopotamian lands. His experience



was that the whole of the country between the two great rivers was naturally as fertile a district as could be found anywhere (Sir EDWIN PEARS: I agree absolutely.) Fertility was reached within a comparatively short distance of Alexandretta, and therefore it was unnecessary to cross the real desert with the railway. The line would pass through the most fertile country that could be imagined. One difficulty of cultivating the land was caused by periodical flooding. The country did not suffer from want of water, as Sir Edwin Pears had suggested, but from want of control of the water. He had seen the far-reaching plains when there was not one dry yard of land to be detected across the whole horizon. If the water could be controlled in any way (and Sir William Willcocks had worked out scientific schemes for the purpose), Mesopotamia would produce sufficient corn to feed the whole world. Manure would not be required, owing to the natural fertility. But the methods of cultivation adopted by the Arabs were very primitive. Their ploughs were instruments that did no more than scratch the surface, and they did not even harrow the ground. They sowed the ground first and then they ploughed. Yet he knew of a place which took its name from the fact that seed sown produced a hundredfold. This was an exaggeration, but there were many places where, with these primitive methods, the produce was thirty or forty fold. There were many parts which could not be reached by water carriage, and would be developed greatly by railway communication. He thanked the lecturer for an interesting paper, and said that certain parts of his historical outline were new to him, although he had heard a great deal of the Chesney expedition.

Mr. BOULGER said that the last speaker had said practically everything he would have said in reply to Sir Edwin Pears, and therefore it was not necessary for him to detain them.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed from the Chair.

## THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD.

THE CHAIRMAN said they were all expectantly waiting to hear the lecture by Mr. A. Boddam Taylor on the Tigris. He had resided for thirty years in Baghdad, and must be regarded as an authority upon local conditions. His lecture should therefore be a valuable pendant to those previously given during the session on Mesopotamia.

Mr. A. BODDAM TAYLOR then read his lecture as follows:

About 20 miles outside the entrance to the Shat-el-Arab there is a bar which must be crossed by steamers bound to that port. In the old days the only indication of the entrance to the channel was a buoy with a pole bearing a cage. A steamer leaving Bushire in the afternoon could easily make the buoy next morning by daybreak. The channel, a narrow, winding one, was marked by other smaller buoys.

All this is now changed. There is, I understand, a lightship at the outer buoy, and a better channel has been marked out.

The bar is about 4 miles across, and there is deeper water on the other side. Low flats soon become visible on both sides, and these gradually give place to more defined banks and cultivation. Low embankments keep out the tide, which otherwise would swamp the land.

Some few miles up the river are the Fao telegraph stations, where the Indo-European cable joins up with the Turkish telegraph line. Here the date-groves commence which line the river right up to Kurnah.

Some few miles below Mahomerah we pass Abadan, where the Anglo-Persian Oil Company have erected their refineries.

Mahomerah itself is situated on the River Karun about a mile above its junction with the Shat-el-Arab, and is only just visible in the distance.

The banks of the river become more defined as we proceed, but innumerable creeks run inland on both sides; some of these extend for miles, others are short. From these main creeks others branch off,

and smaller ones from these again, so that the whole ground is a network of ditches. The Arabs say that the date-palm can only exist with its roots in the water and its head in the fire—the sun-heat—but in reality these ditches serve as much as drains as they do for irrigation. The water in them is under complete control; it can be kept in or shut out as necessary, and if the ditches are neglected and get choked up, the palms soon feel the effect.

While on this subject of the date-palm it may interest you to hear a few details in respect of it. Most fruit trees produce flowers bearing stamen and pistil, and the fertilization is carried out by bees, flies, or insects; the date-palm is either a male tree or a female tree, and Nature has made no provision for the transference of the pollen, which process must be carried out by man. When the flower bursts the spathe in which it grows it is covered with pollen; the whole bunch is cut off the male tree and divided into a number of small sprigs, one of which is inserted into each bunch of flowers on the female tree, and the wind shakes the pollen over the whole bunch.

This is the most important process in the cultivation of dates, and failure to carry it out properly results in what the Arabs term "sheesh"—that is, the dates grow two and three together, they have no stone, and never come to maturity. The date-palm may be said to be polygamous, for one male tree will serve some two hundred female trees—at least, that is the proportion of male trees which the Arabs preserve.

There are over one hundred distinct kinds of date-palms, the fruit of which varies considerably in appearance; indeed, the female trees themselves vary, particularly in the fronds, and although to the casual observer there is no noticeable difference, a fellah could tell by merely looking at it what variety of tree it is; but there is only one kind of male tree, and its pollen fertilizes all the different female varieties.

A stone of any date when planted will produce a tree, but the chances are it will be a male tree; if a female tree, it will be a throw-back to the original wild date, whose fruit is not worth eating. The female trees throw off a number of suckers, which are cut away and planted, and this is the only means of propagation.

Basrah is the limit of the ocean steamer. Here the cargo must be transhipped into flat-bottomed river steamers and barges.

The river at Basrah is about half a mile wide, but even here, 60 miles inland, the ground-level is only a foot or so above high-water mark, and embankments are maintained to keep out extra high tides.

Basrah itself is situated about 2 miles up the main creek, but there is a considerable population on the river-banks, and the business houses have their offices and wharves there.

## 74 THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD

The Custom House is at the entrance to the creek, and the Turks would not permit any sea steamer to go above the limits of the port.

The river steamers are side-paddle boats drawing 2 feet empty and about 5 feet loaded. The largest will carry 350 tons on this draft, but in summer it is not possible to load to more than 4 feet. They have cabins fore and aft, and the upper deck extends over the greater portion of the vessel.

On the lower deck aft there is a powerful capstan, which is in addition to the windlass forward. This capstan is very necessary for hauling the steamer off the ground when she touches, and without it she is very helpless. This is one of the points the authorities overlooked when they despatched numerous craft from India, Burmah, and elsewhere, to do transport work on the Tigris, for which they were utterly unsuited.

The river from Basrah to Kurnah differs very little from that below Basrah, except that it is narrower and the banks more pronounced.

Kurnah stands on the point formed by the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is a poor place, consisting of some eight or ten mud-brick buildings and a few mat houses. The Tigris at this point is about 300 yards wide, and still fairly deep.

After leaving Kurnah the date-groves cease; only a few clumps of old trees are to be seen. We are now approaching the marshes. Ezra's Tomb, with its blue-tiled dome, stands on the verge of the marshes. It is a place of pilgrimage for the Jews, who at certain seasons every year come here in hundreds to worship. The Mahomedans also acknowledge the prophet Ezra, and although they do not go there in pilgrimage, they respect the tomb.

As the steamer enters the marsh region the river narrows considerably—in many places it is not 100 yards wide. On both sides vast marshes extend for many miles inland. They are overgrown with reeds, intersected by creeks and channels, and are the home of water-fowl and wild-pig. These marshes extend from Ezra's Tomb to Kulat-Saleh, a stretch of some thirty miles of river. I have seen wild-pig literally in herds scampering away through the slush and water on the approach of the steamer.

For the first few miles the marshes extend right up to the river, but as we steam farther on they recede farther inland and the river-banks show up again.

The marsh district is inhabited by Maidan Arabs, who live by fishing and keeping buffaloes. They dwell in mat and reed huts, and move about in narrow bitumen-plastered canoes called "ma-shoofs," which are paddled or poled. They are very clever at spearing and netting fish. In habits and appearance they are different from

the Bedouin Arabs, and are considered somewhat low down in the social scale, but they are a hardworking, industrious people. Their women go long distances in their canoes to sell their fish, milk, butter, curds, and eggs; they do not veil very closely, and frequently exchange jests and saucy remarks with passing boatmen and villagers. They own herds of cows and buffaloes, donkeys and horses, and on dry patches of land grow large crops of Edra, maize, and marrows.

When the steamer is passing through this marsh district the journey is full of interest. The whole population of the different encampments turns out to line the bank, dancing and shouting for bread, fruit, dates, apples and oranges, which the passengers throw over to them. They are not, as a rule, much encumbered with clothing; the children are generally stark naked, and scramble on the banks for the delicacies thrown to them, or plunge into the water to fish them out. The men wear only a cloak, which is usually wrapped round their middle to enable them to run freely, and even the younger women think nothing of throwing off their cloaks, often their only garment, and plunging suddenly into the stream after some tempting morsel. The older women content themselves with boxing the ears of some child and seizing his spoils.

Kulat-Saleh is a small village some 40 miles from Kurnah. It was a place of some importance, being the seat of a Mudir and a certain number of Turkish troops. About 20 miles farther on we come to Amarah. When I first saw Amarah it was a large encampment of mat huts and black tents, with only a few built houses. It is a very important centre, being the outlet of all the produce of the marsh district, with roads leading to the Persian hills in the background. It grew very rapidly, and when I last saw it some five years ago it presented a rather imposing appearance from the river-front. It boasts a fine esplanade, some half a mile long, with well-built brick houses all its length. The Turks built a fine Serai or Government House and Barracks, and altogether it is the most flourishing town on the river. Just above Amarah is a large creek or river (the Chehalla), leading off the left bank of the Tigris eastward. Years ago—perhaps a century back—this was in all probability a small irrigation canal dug to lead the water on to the land, but the site was so chosen that it caught the full force of the current; every flood increased it in size, so that to-day more water passes through it than passes Amarah in the river proper. This water flows into and forms the marsh on the eastern side of the Tigris, and gradually flows back again into the river between Kulat-Saleh and Kurnah. The Turks have often tried to dam this escape and control it, but have never really succeeded. It is in this way that many canals originally dug as small irrigation ditches have taken change and become enormous creeks

## 76 THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD

leading the river water off to be lost in marshes. There are several such creeks on the right bank, which form the marshes on that side.

This also is sometimes the cause of changes in the bed of the river itself. One such change is within my recollection. Between Kut-el-Amarah and Baghdad there was a bend in the river about 9 miles round, but the neck of land from top to bottom was only about half a mile. Some enterprising Arab years before had dug a ditch from the upper bend in such a position that the current flowed straight into it; every flood increased it in size, until one very heavy flood cut it through to the river below. The steamer *Mejidieh*, in command of the late Captain Cowley (father of Lieutenant Commander C. Cowley, R.N.V.R., who perished in the attempt to relieve Kut-el-Amarah, and who was awarded a posthumous V.C. by His Majesty), had passed up a few days before, and nothing unusual was noticed; but as he was steaming down-stream past the entrance of this canal the next trip the vessel was carried down it stern first by a raging torrent and shot out into the river below, where he managed to drop anchor without much damage beyond broken paddle-wheels. The result was that this cutting became the river, shortening its course about 9 miles, and the old bed of the river dried up.

But to return to the subject of the marshes, I hear that the army of occupation have built a light railway right through them to Amarah; if so, they must have accomplished an enormous amount of work in the way of embankments.

Upon two separate occasions I have seen such extraordinary floods that the whole country between Basrah and Baghdad was under water; in the marsh district there was not a yard of dry land to be seen. The river-channel was only recognizable by its colour, and the water over the land was so deep that one Turkish steamer got stranded 200 yards outside of the river and was with difficulty refloated. The population were all encamped upon the numerous mounds surrounded by a sea of water. Jackals, gazelles, and other animals, occupied every available piece of high land, and the very partridges were perched upon the scrub. How the railway in question would fare should there be another flood of this sort is more than I can say. One of the first works the British should undertake is the control of these creeks, especially that above Amarah, which will drain the marshes and render thousands of acres of land available for cultivation.

Amarah is the headquarters on the Tigris of the Sabeans, or Sabbie. The name denotes their creed. The word ("Sabbaha") means to bathe or swim, and the Sabbie are followers of St. John the Baptist. All their rites are carried out in water. They are baptized by being dipped, and they are married in the same way. The community is a



very small one; in Amarah there are some 200 to 300 of them, and there is a smaller colony in Mahomerah, but there are a good number spread amongst the Arabs. They devote themselves entirely to gold and silver working, and make a speciality of an inlaid work with antimony on silver which is kept a secret among themselves. They dress exactly like the Arabs and mix very freely among them. Every large Arab encampment or village has its family of Sabeans, who live amongst them and make their ornaments. From their dress they cannot be distinguished from Arabs, but their type of features is most pronounced, and it is easy to pick them out. They never marry outside their own community.

The river above Amarah offers a very different aspect to that below. The banks gradually become steeper. At Amarah the difference between low summer level and high flood level is only 4 or 5 feet; at Baghdad it is 21 feet.

From Amarah to near Kut-el-Amarah the navigation is fairly easy, and steamers can run by night and day.

We now come into the region of the Bedouin Arab. I have already given you some details of the Maidan Arab, but the Bedouin is quite different. In his haunts in the desert he is not a cultivator—he lives by his herds of camels, cattle, and sheep—but on the banks of the rivers he has gone in for cultivation, making the women do most of the work. He owns flocks and herds; he is not above plundering and thieving, but his pride will not let him sell bread or milk. He will give you these, and his pride will not prevent him from taking a present three times their value; but that is a different thing. This distinction refers only to what the Arab terms “eish” food (the staff of life)—that is, bread, which it is a disgrace to sell. Sheep, cattle, fowls, eggs, etc., do not come under this designation, and may be sold. I may remark here that this is one of the ancient Arab traditions which is now somewhat disregarded.

The Bedouin never fishes except for pastime, and seldom eats fish. He lives on the produce of the land and his flocks and herds. He seldom uses a boat, and makes all his journeys on foot or riding. When he has to cross a river he will swim, assisted by an inflated skin, first tying his clothes in a bundle on the top of his head.

The character of the Arab has been greatly overrated. One reads many romantic stories about their generosity, their chivalry, and their bravery; and this may be the case amongst the nobles, but it is certainly not the case with the average Arab. He is proud by reason of ancient traditions, but it is a pride born of ignorance, and unreasoning; he is avaricious, grasping, and exceedingly lazy. They have some good points—extreme fondness of their children and the respect they show to their parents. They are extraordinarily dignified, often



## 78 THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD

patriarchal in appearance, although not particularly cleanly in their persons.

On nearing Kut-el-Amarah the navigation becomes more intricate. In a full river the only difficulty the steamer has to contend with is the force of the current, which at times is very great; but when the flood has subsided, which it does in a few days, it is impossible to avoid grounding. The river water is thick with silt and of a deep chocolate colour when in flood. This silt deposits in the bed of the stream and forms sand-banks of very soft but very tenacious sandy loam. These banks are constantly altering in shape and position, and the channels are always shifting, necessitating frequent crossing from one side of the river to the other. There is nothing to indicate the channel, and the vessel will sometimes ground so gently that hardly a motion is felt; but for all that, she may be hard and fast for the next three or four hours until heaved off. At other times she may ground with a bump which will nearly knock you off your legs. This is where the windlass and capstan come in. Anchors are run out both fore and aft, and by alternately heaving on one and then on the other the ship is floated again.

The river in its upper reaches is very winding, and it is often possible to walk across the neck of a bend in a much shorter time than it takes the steamer to steam round. The Ctesiphon bend is a very good example of this. On the voyage up European passengers often land at the bottom of the bend, and after a 3-mile walk across the neck of the bight have an hour or so to spare to examine the arch of Ctesiphon, which is situated within a few hundred yards of the river.

This arch, which is called the "Tak" or the "Takhi-Khesra," was built by Chosroes, one of the Sassanian Kings, about the year A.D. 550 on the left bank of the Tigris, opposite the site of the city of Seleucia.

It consists of a large hall 163 feet long and 86 feet wide, with a vaulted roof 95 feet high, open at one end and closed at the other. The crown of the arch is 9 feet thick, and the walls supporting it are 23 feet thick at the base. The open end of the hall was flanked by two wing-walls, rising to the height of the top of the arch, which were some 20 feet thick at the base. When I first went to Baghdad both these wing-walls were standing, but the Arabs, by digging out the bricks from the base of them, caused both these walls to collapse. The whole is built of large flat burnt bricks, many of them bearing a cuneiform stamp. The bricks at the base were laid in bitumen.

The fronts of the wing-walls were highly decorated. There are no signs above ground of any rooms, but the foundations of them probably exist.

When the northern wing collapsed, numerous cedar-wood beams in perfect preservation were found amongst the débris; but the Arabs

soon disposed of them, and also of the bricks, as the Turks took no steps to preserve anything. One or two small pieces of cedar wood were secured by the Englishmen residing in Baghdad at the time.

The Diala River enters the Tigris about 8 miles above Ctesiphon. This was the scene of severe fighting when the British troops took Baghdad. The river is about 100 yards wide and the banks very steep, with a sheer drop of 20 feet to the water in the low season. There used to be a bridge of boats across it near its junction with the Tigris. About 7 miles farther on Gerarah is reached, where the gardens of Baghdad begin. This point is only 4 miles from Baghdad, although the steamer has to traverse several winding reaches before she can reach there three hours later.

A Baghdad garden is not exactly an Englishman's idea of a garden. The word "orchard" would better describe it. There are not many flowers to be seen; a few rose-bushes, a bed of violets, some pinks and carnations, and a few plants of jessamine, may be found, but apricot, peach, plum, apple, orange, and lime trees abound; date-palms are, of course, the most plentiful. They are all watered by irrigation. In the old days this was effected by means of the musical "churd," an erection of poles and pulleys by which animals hoisted huge skins full of water to the ground-level, whence it flowed into the irrigation ditches. The "churd" was a characteristic feature of Baghdad; every pulley had a different creak, and in the still of night it was a most penetrating sound, which could be heard for a long distance. It has been displaced by the advance of civilization; oil engines and pumps have now largely taken its place.

The houses are built right up to the water's edge upon steep "messaneyehs," or brick-built embankments, some 20 feet high. In summer-time the water falls to the very foot of these embankments and frequently leaves a foreshore, while in flood-time it stands right up to the top of them, and not infrequently low mud embankments have to be hastily made to keep out an extra high flood.

The houses are all flat-roofed, and everyone sleeps on the roof in summer. The roofs are made of poplar poles, mats, reeds, and earth, covered with a layer of clay and slightly sloped to throw the rain-water to the edge, where wooden gutters lead it into the street or into the courtyard. When it is raining a person walking in the street must have an umbrella, not so much for protection against the rain as to keep off the cascades from these gutters.

Every house has a courtyard, round which the rooms are built. The ground-floor consists of servants' rooms, storerooms, kitchen, and "serdab." The "serdab" is a room the floor of which is below the level of the ground. There are air-shafts which lead up to the roof, with ventilating-heads to catch the wind and lead it down. In

## 80 THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD

summer the upstairs rooms are unbearable, and the "serdab" is the only cool place in the house. The word is Persian, derived from "serd" (cold) and "ab" (water). In Persia streams of water flow through such rooms, but in Baghdad there is no water, only the name remains. The upper rooms all lead off a veranda which goes right round the courtyard.

Many of the older houses built by Persians contain most beautiful woodwork screens and "shanasheens." The "shanasheen" is another characteristic feature of the Baghdad house. It is a window overhanging the street. The window extends the whole width of the room, and is provided with glass shutters and wooden filigree-work screens, which can be raised or lowered. Inside the room there is a platform some 3 feet wide, raised a few inches off the floor, which is furnished with gaudily covered mattresses and pillows, and here the ladies of the house spend a great portion of their time watching the doings in the street without being seen themselves.

One great drawback to the Baghdad houses is the complete absence of drainage, a want which I trust will now be rectified.

The water-supply is effected by means of the "sukka," or water-carrier, who fills his water-skin at the river, balances it on the back of a donkey through the streets, and delivers its contents into the household "hubs," large earthenware porous water-holders which every house has in the courtyard. The water filters through them into a receptacle below. Baghdad does boast a water-supply, but only certain streets are thus provided, and the water-carrier still holds his own in most parts.

The population is a very mixed one, consisting of Mahomedans, Jews, Christians, Indians, and Europeans. The Mahomedans are divided as follows: Arabs, who are mostly landowners, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and labouring classes, with a percentage of desert Arabs from the outlying districts and a large proportion of moolas and sayids; Persians, who are mostly merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and labourers; and Kurds, who are all working people. It is from this class that the "hamals," or porters, are drawn, who are celebrated for their power of carrying enormous loads upon their backs. I once saw a "hamal" carry a safe weighing 11 cwt. on his back from an upper to a lower room. He bore the whole weight of it on his back down a flight of steps, being merely supported by two others to steady him.

Of Turks proper there are not a very large number in Baghdad or in the districts.

All the important Government posts are filled by Turks appointed from Constantinople—such as the Governor-General, the Kadi, the Military Commander, the heads of the Customs, the Revenue, the

Imperial Estates, the Wakaf, etc.—and the swarms of minor officials and clerks in these departments all come from there. All the army officers and doctors are Turks, and a large number of the troops, but in private life there are very few. The chemists' shops are mostly kept by Turks, and here and there a few shopkeepers and merchants trading with Constantinople, but that is all. There is no resident Turkish community.

The Turk looks upon Mesopotamia much in the same way that the Britisher looks upon the West Coast of Africa. He is appointed and has to go there; he does his best to make money while he is there, but is glad to get away.

Some 50,000 of the population are Jews, who are all engaged in trade as merchants, shopkeepers, and pedlars, or in certain industries, such as metal-working, weaving, embroidery, and tailoring.

The Christian population of Baghdad is composed of Chaldeans, or, as they are more usually called in Baghdad, "Telkafies," and Syrians. The Telkafies come from the Moosul district, and are a very fine, sturdy race of men. They devote themselves very largely to work on the river steamers and barges, which are manned by them. They also do a good deal of low-caste work which the Mahomedan would decline to do, such as scavenging and sweeping. They are physically fine men, but are not generally very intelligent, and to call a person "Telkafie" is equivalent to dubbing him a "thick-head." Where we would say "as stupid as a donkey," the Baghdadie would say "as stupid as a Telkafie."

The Syrians are a mixture of many countries. Many of them are descendants of emigrants from Beyrout, Damascus, Moosul, and Aleppo, who have settled centuries ago in Baghdad. Under the Turkish Government the Christians have always been well treated and allowed a considerable amount of freedom, so that Baghdad has been looked upon by them as a haven of refuge, and their numbers have increased in consequence.

To these must be added Armenians and Greeks, and also the British, French, Germans, and Italians. The Europeans all told did not number more than a hundred or so.

The subject of the different races inhabiting these parts is a very interesting one, but it is a very large subject, and I fear that time will not permit of my entering very fully into it.

Every class has its own distinctive dress, and the costumes to be seen are many and varied. The ladies are all veiled when in the streets, though the peasant women are not so particular about this, but it is easy to tell their denomination and rank in life from their clothing.

The streets are very narrow; even the main streets were only

## 82 THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD

just wide enough to allow a carriage to pass, and when two carriages met it was often necessary for one to back to some opening where they could pass each other. When the late Nazim Pasha was Governor of Baghdad he began to widen the main street by the simple process of pulling down all the fronts of the houses, leaving the owners to build them up again 2 yards farther back. The side-streets and lanes are particularly narrow, often not more than 6 to 7 feet wide. The Bazaars still retain the Eastern appearance, the best of them being roofed in with domed roofs, the only light and ventilation being through holes in the domes. Each Bazaar is devoted to a separate trade.

The shops consist of small recesses built into the walls on both sides. These recesses are raised about 2 feet above the street-level and are fitted with clumsy hinged wooden shutters, one of which is propped up and the other let down, forming a platform, upon which the owner squats, with his goods within reach upon shelves or hanging on pegs.

When a male customer wishes to make a purchase he sits down on the platform, takes a pull at the proprietor's water-pipe, or proffers a cigarette and proceeds to discuss the weather, the state of affairs generally, any topic excepting his requirements; this last must be introduced with great caution, and perhaps after lengthy bargaining the purchase may be concluded to the satisfaction of both parties.

Ladies particularly enjoy expeditions into the Bazaar just as ladies at home go to look at the shops—discreetly veiled and generally in twos and threes, they spend hours in examining the different wares and discussing the pros and cons.

This is one of the few privileges enjoyed by the fair sex; the other great diversion is the visit to the "haman." A lady of quality will go to the bath attended by two or three female servants, bearing bundles of clothing, toilet necessities, tea equipage, etc., and spend hours there drinking tea and gossiping with her acquaintance. They make up bath-parties, and frequently engage the whole establishment for the occasion.

It is only when out in the street that the Christian women are veiled; when indoors they discard the cloak, and will receive their friends, both male and female, without any attempt to conceal their features. Many of the better-class Jewish families will also allow their women-folk to receive male visitors without covering their faces.

There has been a good deal of discussion about Mesopotamia and its future, and I have no hesitation in saying that the agricultural possibilities of the country are tremendous. The land is marvellously fertile, needing only water and attention. Between the Euphrates and the Tigris there are traces of the beds of innumerable ancient canals that have long since fallen into disuse and become filled in; to-day the harvest is dependent entirely upon the rainfall. With good

and regular rains it will be abundant, but the system of cultivation leaves much to be desired. The native plough is merely a roughly shaped piece of wood shod at the point with iron and yoked to an ox or a donkey; at best it does not penetrate more than four inches, and often merely scratches the surface. Ploughing cannot be commenced until heavy rains have fallen to soften the soil, for the plough could not penetrate the baked surface.

The ground is sown before ploughing and the seed ploughed in, no harrowing of any sort being done. No attempt is made to clear the ground from thorn and scrub. No weeding or thinning is ever done. The rainfall is so dubious that only low-lying patches which will collect the water are sown, and thus only a small part of the available surface is utilized. Of late years oil engines and pumps have been introduced in considerable numbers, but they are used more for garden produce than for grain production. There is an enormous opening in this direction.

The irrigation work started by Sir William Willcocks and completed by Sir John Jackson at Hindieh has not assisted grain production. It had the effect of closing the Hindieh Canal and turning back once more into the Hillah branch of the Euphrates the water which flowed to waste in the desert, but only the date-groves and gardens of Hillah benefited by this. To grow grain the water must be raised on to the level of the land. If Willcocks's scheme were carried out in its entirety this would be effected. Another serious defect is the liability of the country to inundations. When once the river overflows its banks the water will remain on the land for weeks, even months, until it dries up or percolates back into the river, and all crops are ruined.

The Turkish Government's policy has always been to prevent progress; they were like parasites, absorbing everything, giving nothing. It did not suit them to make the country prosperous.

Their method of ruling was to pit one tribe against another, to foster a constant state of agitation and ill-feeling amongst them. It was easy enough to effect this by favouring one at the expense of the other. If any Sheikh got too wealthy he was squeezed. Their method of collecting taxes was in itself calculated to bring about trouble. Suppose that a tax of, say, £100 was to be collected from some Sheikh, an official would be sent with a guard of soldiers. These would billet themselves upon the tribe until the money was paid. The amount to be recovered would not be merely the £100 tax, but an additional 20 per cent. for the Government officials, 10 per cent. for the collector, presents for the soldiers, who must be fed and kept quiet; meantime any small article that the collector might fancy, such as a young colt or a rifle or suchlike trifle, would have to be given to prevent strained relations, and only when everything had been



settled to the satisfaction of the official would he depart with his soldiers, much to the relief of his hosts, who knew well that if during his stay any of the Arabs, resenting the importunities of the soldiers, had come into collision with them, the Governor would be only too glad of such an opportunity to make the tribe pay for their misdeeds.

Europeans could not invest capital in industries without concessions, nor could they acquire land—not that the acquisition of land was prohibited them, but because of the difficulties which would be put in the way of the purchase.

Natives knew too well the risk of investing capital in any industry which was dependent upon the goodwill and co-operation of the Turkish official.

Some years ago Germany made a deliberate attempt to create a trade in the region of the Persian Gulf. The Hamburg-American Line put on steamers which were without doubt subsidized; German agents established themselves at the different ports and flooded the country with cheap German-made goods; the Bazaar stalls were full of cutlery, enamelware, china, glass, locks, buttons, and knick-knacks of all sorts, but very little of this was bona-fide trade. A certain number of these articles had before been imported through India, which the direct imports now replaced, but the bulk of it did not mean real buying; the goods were handed over to the retail dealers for sale or return. It cost the shopkeeper nothing to expose them, and he got a good profit upon whatever he did sell; but they were everywhere in evidence, and that was the real object—to make a show of trade. There is no doubt it was instigated by the German Government, and worked by the Trade Combines with the assistance of that Government.

Later on much of the local produce in the shape of grain, wool, and skins, was brought up by these same agents, who were able to operate at prices which British merchants could not touch for the open market in London.

Cheap freights in their subsidized boats gave them a certain advantage, but it is also very probable that some of the material was being made use of for military equipment.

The Board of Trade woke up to the fact of this commercial enterprise, and sent out two separate Commissioners to inquire into matters and suggest means of counteracting same, and their reports were made, but nothing further transpired. I was consulted by the Commercial Intelligence Department at the time, and gave my views, but it was against all the tenets of the official mind at that time to admit that Germans could assist trade in this way, and I fear that my words of wisdom fell on deaf ears.

So far as Mesopotamia is concerned, British trade has always held its own, despite the efforts on the part of the Germans, and this is not



due to any assistance from or any interest taken in it by the British authorities, but entirely to the dogged persistence of the British mercantile firms doing business there, who have had to fight not only the obstacles placed in their way by Turkish authorities and the competition of other countries, but also the apathy of the British manufacturer and frequently the indifference of the Consular officials in all matters pertaining to trade.

I had not intended to touch the subject of the railway, but in view of the discussion which took place last month in this room after Mr. Boulger had read his paper, I feel bound to refer briefly to it.

I have not visited the Euphrates higher up than Feluja, but I know that grain is grown at Anah and Hit. The land on the Tigris is just as fertile up to Moosul as it is below Baghdad, and there is no reason why the Euphrates Valley should not be equally so right up to Meskena.

That not much grain is grown in the upper portion is because this district is peopled by Shemmar Arabs on the one side and Anaizeh Arabs on the other, and the desert Arab is not a cultivator; moreover, cultivation, dependent upon precarious rainfalls, is often a failure; but the soil is fertile enough, and with proper irrigation would soon produce sufficient to support a railway. I am not a believer in a railway being the panacea for all evils—after all, a railway is only one road, a thing that has length without breadth; it is a cheap means of transport, but of itself it will not open up a very wide tract of country. Good roads adapted to wheeled traffic are necessary, and provided these were made simultaneously with irrigation works, there is not the smallest doubt that a railway would soon be a necessity.

What I want particularly to impress upon you is that if irrigation schemes are started some means of transport in addition to the rivers must be provided.

The Euphrates is not now navigable for steamers; during certain months small boats can pass down with grain, but the decrease in weight and damage through constant discharging and reloading occasion great loss, not to speak of the great delay. The Tigris is better, but even here navigation in the summer months is very difficult and costly.

Even now goods which will bear the carriage go across from Syria to Moosul rather than via the Gulf and Baghdad; and if there were any other choice between steamers and animal carriage it would be made use of.

Before concluding this paper I must touch upon the important question of the future of the country.

I can hardly conceive that anyone could contemplate handing Mesopotamia back again to the Turkish misrule; to do so would

indeed be to throw the Arabs to the wolves, and would constitute a very serious betrayal of trust, not to speak of wasted opportunity, which Great Britain would bitterly regret later; but some form of government must be evolved.

It has been suggested that the head of the Hedjaz Arabs, who has lately proclaimed his independence, should be placed in authority over Mesopotamia. To my mind this would never be acceptable. The Hedjaz Arabs have nothing whatever in common with the Arabs of Mesopotamia; there is little or no intercourse between the countries, and there certainly is no bond of union.

There are four important Arab tribes in addition to the Maidan or Marsh Arabs. These are the Anaizeh and the Shemmar, on the right and left banks of the upper portion of the Euphrates respectively; the Montifik, who occupy both sides of that river in the lower portion; and the Beni Lam, on the east of the Tigris. These tribes are always at variance with each other, and I question whether any of them would accept to be subordinated to the head of any other tribe.

It is very difficult to suggest any workable scheme or to name any individual with sufficient power and tact to control all the various conflicting interests, and that these interests are very conflicting I will endeavour briefly to point out.

It is perhaps hard for anyone who has not dwelt amongst them to realize that the Bedouin is in every way totally different from the townsman. The Bedouin is still in a state of feudal bondage, his every action is controlled by the Sheikh of his tribe; he has certain rights in his own property, his herds and cattle, etc., but he does not own the land, and must get the Sheikh's permission to cultivate or to graze his flocks on it. He has to pay dues to the Sheikh, to contribute to the common funds whenever required; he is entirely under the orders of the heads of the tribe, who can demand his services or even expel him from their midst.

The townsman, on the other hand, has thrown off this bondage. He owns property in land bought from the Turkish Government, or he trades or works for his living; he owes no subservience to any individual except his employer, and that only so long as he chooses to accept such employment. How could it be expected that he should accept to be placed under the rule of the Bedouin, and it is equally inconceivable that the Bedouin tribes would recognize a townsman as head.

The appointment of a ruler from amongst the religious party of Seyds and Ulema would be equally objected to by both Bedouins and townspeople. The influence which this class exercise over the people through the religion is very great, and is made free use of for their own private interests; but while the people accept the numerous calls made upon them in the name of religion, there is not much real

sympathy between them, and they would not tolerate any secular power being put into their hands. They would one and all accept the British rule, and I can see no better solution of the difficulty than to administer the country much in the same way as India is now governed.

The CHAIRMAN said they had been immensely interested in the valuable paper they had heard. It very likely suggested to many present considerations in respect to the Mesopotamian Commission Report which had been published that morning. But at the Council meeting that afternoon they came to the conclusion that it would be undesirable in their discussions to enter into that question at all. It was a very important and complicated issue, and the ventilation of it at this stage was to be deprecated.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said that the lecturer had thoroughly given them the benefit of his long years of experience in Mesopotamia. He particularly liked what had been said as to the need for railways, for he felt how necessary it was there should be other means of communication in addition to the present river system. It was a matter for congratulation that during the last year various railways had been constructed by our troops in occupation, and he felt sure that these railways would be extended as time went on.

The close of the paper was, in his opinion, its most important part, since it dealt with the question of the future of the country. They would all thoroughly endorse the view of the lecturer that it was inconceivable that Mesopotamia would be handed back to Turkish misrule. He also agreed with him that it was not feasible to place the Hedjaz Arabs over the Arabs of Mesopotamia. The Arab tribes of Mesopotamia to whom the lecturer had referred were all independent of each other, and there was no chief amongst them who would accept Hedjaz rule. Sir Thomas Holdich had lately shown in a lecture to the Society how absolutely impossible it was for the various Arab communities, such as Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, to be ruled from one common centre. The different portions of the world inhabited by Arabs were more or less independent of each other, and he did not believe they would ever see them united under the Hedjaz. The lecturer had shown that the population of Baghdad was a particularly diverse one, made up of many races and faiths, and he did not believe that there was any one of these races which would accept any rule except that of the strongest. He thought the suggestion in the last portion of the paper, that all of them would accept British rule, provided the best solution of the difficulty. He agreed with Mr. Taylor that the best administration of the country would be one based on the Indian model. He thought they might look to the govern-

## 88 THE RIVER TIGRIS FROM THE SEA TO BAGHDAD

ment which was now being established by Sir Stanley Maude, with the help of Indian officials, as the one form of government which would bring peace and prosperity to Baghdad such as had already been brought to Busrah, according to a recent *Times* article. Busrah was now a hive of activity and progress, instead of misrule and desolation. They all knew what the Government of India was, and what it had done, for example, in Upper Burma, which was one of the wildest countries imaginable a generation ago. It was now a most powerful and prosperous province, with a Lieutenant-Governor and its own local Legislative Council. He hoped that a generation hence we should see Mesopotamia with its local Governor and its local Legislative Council, enjoying peace and prosperity such as existed in Burmah to-day. If we could do so much for an outlying province on the east of the Indian Empire, like Burmah, he thought they could do just as much for an outlying province on the west of the Indian Empire, such as Mesopotamia. He hoped that everyone present would do their best to encourage the British Government to stick to Mesopotamia, and to establish an administration there by British officials on the lines of the Government of India.

Mr. C. E. BUCKLAND asked whether, in view of the severe heat of the Mesopotamian climate in the summer months, it would be possible to set up a sanatorium and summer station in the Pusht-i-Kuh Hills to the north-east and south-east of Baghdad. Would these hills provide a suitable site for cantonment of the troops which would have to garrison the country and places where our officers could preside during the hot weather?

A clergyman present asked whether there were any traces amongst the Arab and other inhabitants of the country of ancient Jewish blood, such as existed in Asia Minor. He also asked whether there were to be found among the people any customs or observances showing traces of the penetration of the Buddhist faith in those regions.

Colonel A. C. YATE said that, having been instrumental in inducing the lecturer to give the address to which they had listened with so much interest, instruction, and pleasure, he wished to say that he thought that it held its own well with the standard of lecture at which the Central Asian Society aimed. With reference to the future of Mesopotamia, he would remind them that, when Lord Hardinge went to Busrah early in the Mesopotamian campaign, he practically committed the Government of India to an assurance that the country would not go back to Turkish misrule. There was one very strong reason why we could not give up the country lying between the Persian Gulf and Egypt, namely, because it was a vital link in the union of our vast Empire in Asia and Africa. When Mr. W. J. Childs, the author of "Across Asia Minor on Foot," lectured to their Society, there was

no point on which he insisted more strongly than that of the importance of Alexandretta as one of the great ports of the future of the Asiatic shores of the Mediterranean. The possession of that port would have a most important bearing upon our position as one of the greatest of Asiatic and African Powers, since it would be the Mediterranean terminus of our railway from Koweit through Baghdad, and should, if possible, communicate through Egypt with our African possessions. We cannot doubt that Berlin, when she embarked on the "Drang nach Osten," meditated a concentration of railways from Asia and Africa upon Alexandretta. Surely we must dismiss the supposition that we could allow Alexandretta to fall into the hands of any other Power. The question is most closely connected with the security of Egypt and the Suez Canal, of the control of which we must certainly retain possession. These are among the factors which must determine our decision as to Mesopotamia.

MR. BODDAM TAYLOR, in reply, said there were no traces whatever of Buddhism remaining in Mesopotamia in any shape or form. Mahomedanism had quite swept it away. But as regards the Jews, their features had been transmitted very largely to the Mahomedans, and especially among the Persian Mahomedans. Whether this was from intermarriage or from the large employment of the Jews in ancient days, he could not say. Jewish characteristics were especially marked among the Sabeans, to whom he had referred in his paper.

With reference to the possibilities of sanatoria in the Pusht-i-Kuh Hills, the distances were not great, but it was to be remembered that the hills were almost entirely in Persian territory. There were possibilities of a fine hill station for Baghdad in the hills near Kermanshah. The climate was beautifully cool, and the height about 3,000 feet. The suitable frontier towns were disputed points, and it was to settle these difficulties that a Boundary Commission went along the frontier shortly before the outbreak of war. In further answer to Mr. Buckland, he said he supposed that it would not be difficult to arrange with Persia for the provision of one or two cantonments in the hills, on payment of a subsidy.

The lecturer added that there were three gentlemen present who had lived and traded in Mesopotamia for many years, and knew all its requirements and possibilities. He believed that at a previous meeting Sir Thomas Holdich suggested that the Society should formulate a policy for the development of Mesopotamia, to be placed before the Government. He ventured to say that if this was done the three gentlemen to whom he referred could give advice and information of great value to the Council.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer, moved by the Chairman, closed the meeting.

## ANNUAL MEETING

THE annual meeting of the Society was held on June 27, 1917, with Colonel Sir Henry Trotter in the chair. The Report of the Council was as follows:

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1916-1917.

The Session of 1916-1917 opened in October with a paper by Mr. H. Charles Woods entitled "The Salonica Campaign." In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Woods the paper was read by Sir Henry Trotter. In December Miss Edith Durham gave a most interesting paper on "Albania Past and Present," illustrated by beautiful lantern slides. The January paper, by Professor N. Kato, dealt with Japan's part in the war, and gave some highly instructive and interesting information on a subject little known and of great importance. This paper was followed in February by one from Mr. E. C. Wilton on "The Boundary Provinces of Western China," thus again dealing with the Far East. Those in April and May were on the Near East, a part so full of interest at the present time, "Baghdad," by Sir Thomas Holdich, and "Mesopotamia and Syria after the War," by Mr. Demetrius Boulger, being the subjects discussed. The attendance at all the meetings has been very good.

Three new members have been elected during the year—Mr. Frederick Yorke, the Hon. Mr. S. M. Fraser, the resident at Hyderabad, and Mr. J. A. Spranger, R.E. The Council regret to report the loss by death of Captain Perry Ayscough, who was killed in France. The Society has also lost by resignation Mr. R. P. Cadell and Colonel Swayne. Under Rule 8 one defaulter ceases to be a member of the Society. The hope expressed by the Chairman at the last Annual Meeting that the year 1916 would end without a deficit has been realized.

There is a balance of £6 2s. 9d. in the Society's favour.

The total expenditure was £121 18s. 7d., being a saving of nearly £16 on that of 1915, the receipts for the year being the same except for £2. The Statement of Accounts is appended. The recommendation of the Council to fill vacancies in the Council for 1917-1918 are as follows:

Under Rule 12 the Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, retires. The Council have elected Sir Henry Trotter as Chairman in his place, and recommend the election of Sir M. Durand as Vice-President. Under Rule 13 the Hon. Treasurer, Sir Evan James, retires. The Council recommend his re-election. Under Rule 23 Mr. Tucker, Colonel Yate, and Sir Henry Trotter retire. The Council recommend the election of Mr. J. F. Baddeley and the re-election of Mr. Tucker and Colonel Yate.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report, said he was there in a new capacity, the Council having elected him Chairman. It was an honour he gratefully accepted, and he trusted he might be equal to the performance of his duties. Their retiring Chairman, Sir Mortimer Durand, was leaving London to live in Cornwall. He had known him for many years, and he recalled the fact that his father, Sir Henry Durand, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was one of the first persons in India to show him hospitality when he arrived there fifty-five years ago. After outlining Sir Mortimer's services in public life, both as an Indian civilian and as Ambassador, successively at Teheran, Madrid, and Washington, and alluding to his literary work since retirement, he said they were most grateful to Sir Mortimer for the interest he had taken in the Society, which had prospered greatly under his Chairmanship, as the lectures had never been better attended. He felt sure that they would gladly accept the proposal of the Council to appoint him one of their Vice-Presidents. With respect to Council vacancies, they proposed a new member in the person of Mr. Baddeley, who was a great authority both on Russia and China. He was sure the meeting would accept the proposal of the Council.

The Report was adopted unanimously, and the recommendations of the Council were approved.





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*C O N T E N T S.*

**THE AMIR YAKOUB KHAN AND EASTERN TURKISTAN  
IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY.**

By COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

## THE AMIR YAKOUB KHAN AND EASTERN TURKISTAN IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

At a meeting of the Society on October 31, 1917, with Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich in the chair, the President, Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, read the following paper :

In the year 1873, forty-four years ago, whilst employed on Survey duties in Kattywar, in North-West India, I received a telegram from my Chief, Colonel Walker, R.E., Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, informing me that the Indian Government was about to despatch a political mission to the Atalik Ghazi of Yarkand—would I like to accompany it as geographer? My first act was to send a reply in the affirmative, and my next proceeding was to get hold of an atlas to ascertain in what part of Asia Yarkand was to be found. I now know something more of the geography and history of Chinese Turkistan than I did then, or I would not have ventured to address you this evening, and, although I shall be dealing with somewhat ancient history, I hope it may not be unprofitable to attract your attention for a short hour from the troubles and anxieties attendant on the terrible war now raging in so many parts of the world.

The mission which left India in 1873 was under the able leadership of the late Sir Douglas Forsyth, a very distinguished Indian official, and was said by Sir Henry Rawlinson to have been one of the best equipped that ever left India.

It was composed of Colonel T. E. Gordon (afterwards General Sir Thomas Gordon) as second in command; Captain Chapman, R.A., as Secretary (afterwards General Sir E. F. Chapman); Dr. Bellew, C.S.I.; Captain John Biddulph, 19th Hussars (A.D.C. to the Viceroy); Dr. Stoliczka, of the Indian Geological Survey; myself, and a staff of native assistants, amongst whom were Resseldar M. Afzul Khan, of the 11th Bengal Lancers (afterwards native A.D.C. to the late King Edward); Nain Singh and Kishen Singh, the famous pundits and explorers. We had also as escort twenty picked men from the Frontier Corps of Guides.

## THE AMIR YAKOUB KHAN AND

I have no time to give details of our journey over the Himalaya and Karakorum mountains, through regions which have been fully described by later travellers. Our route lay from Murree in the Punjab via Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, to Leh, the capital of Ladakh, from which point the difficulties of the journey commenced. I give an extract from my official report, which will give some idea of the road from Leh to Yarkand:

"In addition to the crossing of six passes, the lowest of which is 17,600 feet above sea-level, and the highest 18,900, for a period of twenty-three days I was never at a lower level than 15,000 feet, and during that period the thermometer seldom rose as high as freezing-point (32° F.), whereas at night the minimum would vary from zero to 20° below zero. For a period of twelve days I was never at a lower level than 16,300 feet, while four consecutive camping grounds were all over 17,000. The highest elevation at which our tents were pitched was at Dehra Kompas Camp, 17,890 feet above sea-level—i.e., more than 2,000 feet higher than the summit of Mont Blanc.

"Tankse is the last place on the road where supplies are procurable, and is by the shortest route 350 miles from Sanju, the first large village met with in Turkistan. For the whole of this distance supplies of grain, both for men and horses, had to be provided in advance, and at a great many halting places neither grass nor firewood were available.

"The great elevation and consequent bitter cold was much aggravated by frequent snow and a piercing wind blowing from morning to night; the long, dreary marches often caused us to arrive at our halting place long after dark; in many places ice beds blocked up the whole road, one of which extended three miles down the Karakash River—all combined to try severely both man and beast."

In crossing some of the worst passes the loads had all to be transferred from horses or mules to yaks (mountain oxen), wonderfully sure-footed animals. I well recollect on one occasion, in a tight place, when the mule I was riding floundered about so badly I had to dismount, and tried going on foot—but the ice was so slippery—with a yawning precipice on one side of the narrow path, that I had to yield to advice, and mount a yak—after which the journey was comparatively pleasant. The sagacious animal would not only use his nose as a feeler, but would not plant his foot down until he had tested the ground either with his foot or his knee—and, as a rope through his nose was the only bridle, he was allowed to pick his own path.

In crossing the Sanju, our last pass, three ponies and eight mules lost their lives. The Yarkand envoy, Hadji Yakoub Bey, who was accompanying us, on his return from a mission to Constantinople, lost ten horses the same day.

But it is time to hurry on to Turkistan. The country, known at various times as Chinese Tartary, Kashgaria, Eastern Turkistan, Chinese Turkistan, Little Bokhara, and the Land of the Six Cities,

may be described as a vast plain, some 4,000 feet above the sea at its western extremity, and gradually sloping down as it stretches eastward. At Turfan, at its eastern extremity, the country actually lies below the level of the sea.

This plain is surrounded south, west, and north by ranges of the loftiest mountains in the world—to the south the Kuen Luen and the Karakorum range of the Himalayas—backed up by the vast tablelands of Tibet, some 17,000 or 18,000 feet above sea-level, where in places a traveller may journey hundreds of miles without meeting a human soul.

To the west the Pamir, or Kizal Yart range, with peaks up to 25,000 feet also acting as buttresses to high tablelands, peopled by nomad Kirghiz tribes. To the north lie the Tienshan, or Celestial mountains, of which one peak, the Tengri Nor, to the north of Aksu, rises to a height of 24,000 feet, in spite of which Turkistan is far more accessible from the north and north-west than from west or south.

The rivers and streams from the melting snows and glaciers of these mountains are diverted on arrival in the plains into numerous irrigation canals, so that, instead of increasing in bulk as they advance into the plain, they slowly diminish in volume. Later on they all amalgamate and form the River Tarim, which ultimately flows into Lake Lob and its surrounding marshes, some 1,000 miles east of Kashgar. The lands irrigated by these waters may be likened to a horseshoe, with the toe pointing west. Outside it lie these mountain ranges, and inside is a sandy desert, covering in many places great ruined cities and buried remains of an earlier civilization.

In this belt of irrigated land representing the horseshoe lie the cities of Khotan, Yangi-Hissar, Yarkand, Kashgar, Aksu, Ush Turfan, Karashar, and Turfan, with populations varying from 20 to 50,000, all of which at the time of our visit were under the uncontested rule of the Amir Yakoub Khan, at that time better known as the Atalik Ghazi of Kashgar.

From Tashkurgan in the mountains, eleven days' journey to the west of Kashgar, to Turfan, on the extreme east, is a distance of over 1,000 miles as the crow flies. Beyond Turfan eastward lies the famous desert of Gobi, where Sir Francis Younghusband has recorded that he travelled for nearly 1,000 miles without seeing a house.

In spite of the enormous extent of territory, the whole population of Turkistan is estimated at only one and a half millions, probably not very much more than the population of the city of Peking.

The large towns are almost invariably double—*i.e.*, they consist of the old native city and the Yangi-shahr, or new city, built by the Chinese as a residence for the Governors, the officials, and the garrison; generally from two to five miles distant from the native city, and strongly fortified. The smaller towns and villages consist of



scattered hamlets and farm houses, surrounded by fields and orchards, where grain and fruits of excellent quality are found in abundance.

In the larger centres a most notable feature is the weekly market, when the outlying inhabitants bring in their country produce, laden on horses, mules and donkeys, and take away in exchange various manufactured goods—the produce of the large towns, and articles imported from Russia or India. Everyone rides, if possible, and I have literally often met beggars on horseback. In fact, begging is a regular profession, carried on in a family from father to son.

It is now time to deal with the ruler of this vast country, and to consider how it became possible for Yakoub Khan, a simple soldier of fortune, not even a native of the country, and once an obscure functionary of Khokand, to supplant the Chinese Government and become absolute and despotic ruler of a part of their territory extending 1,000 miles from west to east. To enable us to do so, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the previous history of China.

In the first century of the Christian era, the Chinese warrior Panchao not only conquered Kashgar, but extended his victorious arms as far as the Caspian Sea, but in the seventh century the country was overrun by the Arabs from the west, who at one time, under their general, Kutaiba, penetrated as far as Kucha. In the tenth century Satuk Boghra Khan, a Tartar Prince of the Uighur Tribe, established himself as ruler of Eastern Turkistan, embraced Islamism, and forced his people to adopt that religion, which is that of the great bulk of the inhabitants of Turkistan at the present day. Boghra Khan is said to have reigned for ninety years, and his memory is greatly venerated in the country at the present day. Early in the thirteenth century the country fell under the rule of the famous Prester John.

Some few years later on, it was overrun and conquered by the renowned Mongol conqueror, Djenghiz Khan (who, like Attila, has been called The Scourge of God). He became supreme ruler of the greater part of Asia, and is said to have raised the work of destruction to the level of one of the Fine Arts—Kaiser Wilhelm appears to have adopted him as a model.

At this period the three great religions of the earth flourished side by side in Turkistan. The Christians represented by the Nestorians were rich and flourishing at Kashgar, while Yarkand was the seat of a Bishop. Djenghiz Khan and his followers were Buddhists, while the great bulk of the population was Mahommedan.

After the death of Djenghiz Khan and his son Chagatai, anarchy and confusion reigned, and the country fell under the dominion of the Chinese Emperor, Timour Khan. In the fourteenth century Turkistan was overrun and conquered by the second great Asiatic conqueror, Timur-Lang, or Tamerlane, after whose death (A.D. 1405) came endless confusion throughout Asia, and constant local wars and



changes of rulers, which it is needless to follow in detail. At one period in the sixteenth century a certain Sultan Said invaded the land of the Six Cities—from Dzungaria—overthrew the tyrant, King Abu-bakar, and pursued his victories into the Karakorum mountains, where, during an attempt at the conquest of Tibet, he died from the effect of the rarified atmosphere at a spot near the Karakorum Pass. His title, Daulet Bey, or Lord of the State, has been given to a well-known camping ground in this region—Daulet Bey Ulde (the Lord of the State died here)—and it is only two marches distant from the spot in those same elevated and desolate regions where my friend and colleague, Dr. Stoliczka, died from the same cause on our return journey to India.

For a hundred years, after Sultan Said's death, Kashgar was ruled by the Khoja Dynasty, which had for several centuries occupied a very prominent position in Central Asia—and of whom we shall hear more later on. One member of the family, Hazrat Afak—whose name is still greatly revered in the country—was at one period supreme ruler, but was ultimately conquered by the Kalmaks from Ili. This gave rise to a fresh invasion from China, then at the height of its power. She conquered both countries in 1760, and maintained her supremacy for 100 years—*i.e.*, until the rise to power of Yakoub Khan, the Atalik Ghazi.

For about twenty years prior to the departure of our mission the great Empire of China had been in a most disorganized state—the famous Taiping Rebellion, which had for its nominal objective the expulsion of the Manchu Dynasty from Peking, broke out in 1850, and was only finally quelled fourteen years later on by the exertions of my old brother officer “Chinese Gordon” (afterwards Gordon of Khartoum), at the head of the “Ever Victorious Army.” This rebellion originated near Canton, and at one time the whole of the valley of the Yangtse Kiang River from Hankow to the sea was in the hands of the rebels, who marched northwards to within 200 miles of Peking, having desolated the country wherever they passed, and murdered the Manchus wherever they could find them. Unable to advance further, the rebels had to retreat, and the movement finally collapsed in 1864 with the fall of Nankin—the last stronghold of the Taipings. The Chinese, as usual, took a bloody revenge.

But the early successes of the insurgents had encouraged rebellion elsewhere, notably amongst the Mahommedan population of Yunnan, then a rich and flourishing province, where in 1855 disturbances between the Panthay Moslems and the Chinese broke out in a quarrel about mining rights. The Chinese Governor ordered a general massacre of the Moslems, but this was forestalled by the Panthays, and a bloody war ensued, in which there were holocausts of victims on both sides, and the country was laid desolate. Suliman, a local

notable, was proclaimed Sultan, with his capital at Talifoo, and sent his son on a mission to England, and it was only in 1873 (the year in which our mission went to Kashgar) that the rebellion was quelled, and ended by a general massacre of the Panthays of Talifoo.

But yet another rebellion, which more nearly concerns Kashgaria, broke out in 1862 among the Tungani Moslems of Shensi and Kansuh, in Western China. It gradually spread westward. Oorumtsi, Turfan, and the neighbouring towns fell into rebel hands, as also nearly the whole of the Province of Dzungaria, or Ili, lying to the north of Turkistan, so that the Province of Turkistan was completely cut off from the rest of China.

The Moslem inhabitants of Turkistan saw another opportunity of a successful rising against Chinese authority, and they lost no time in taking advantage of it. The first town to rise was Yarkand, where the garrison consisted of about 6,000 Khitai or Chinese and a large force of Tunganis—compatriots of the rebels further east. The Chinese, mistrusting these latter, plotted to destroy them, but were forestalled, and the Tunganis, assisted by the townspeople, rose, and the 6,000 Chinese soldiers were put to the sword.

Similar risings took place at Khotan and Kashgar, where the Governors and Chinese officials and garrisons took refuge in their respective citadels, and maintained themselves there for a considerable period, but as no help could possibly arrive from China, and there appeared no alternative but to surrender or die of hunger—the former would as they knew involve a general massacre—so, preferring death to dishonour, it is recorded that the Chinese Governors of these towns, after making a lengthened but desperate resistance, surrounded by their wives and families, officials and chief officers, themselves fired the trains which communicated with their powder magazines, and all perished in the explosion.

In addition to the Tunganis and the local insurgents, which included nearly all the Moslem inhabitants of the country, aid was invoked from the Kirghiz, who inhabited the lower mountain ranges north, west, and south of Kashgar, under the leadership of a famous chieftain, Sadik Bey, who was also ambitious of supreme power. Terrible confusion ensued, and the different elements were all struggling for supremacy, but a new factor appeared on the scene. In 1864, about the time of the capture of Tashkend by the Russians, a certain Buzurg Khan Khoja, a descendant of the Khoja rulers, who had reigned on and off in Kashgar for many hundreds of years, on the invitation of Sadik Bey, came from Khokand to endeavour to regain the throne of his ancestors. It was by no means the first attempt of that family, who in the course of the preceding fifty years had made four or five incursions with a view to recovering their own, some of which had been attended with considerable success, but had invariably ended

in the recovery of the country by the Chinese. The last incursion was by Wali Khan in 1857, and, while besieging Kashgar, the unfortunate scientific traveller, Adolph Schlagentweit, fell into his hands, and was cruelly murdered.

But in 1866 the Chinese were cut off on account of the Tungani Rebellion, and the country itself was the scene of complete anarchy, so that the prospect of success was more hopeful. Buzurg Khan was at first accompanied by only about sixty followers from Khokand, but chief among them was a certain Yakoub Khan, a native of Piskent, near Tashkend, a tried soldier of good family, who had greatly distinguished himself in 1853 in the defence of Ak-Musjid against the Russians, and again in 1864 in the unsuccessful defence of Tashkend. Crowds of Khokandian refugees, gradually driven away by disorders at home, flocked to the standard of Buzurg Khan, and, by the skilful diplomacy, good generalship, and indomitable pluck of Yakoub Khan, the towns of Yarkand, Khotan, and Kashgar fell into his hands. Habibula, King of Khotan, was treacherously disposed of by murder. Buzurg Khan, who was as dissipated as he was incompetent, plotted against the life of the too masterful Yakoub, who, warned of the conspiracy, seized and imprisoned his nominal chief, and ultimately sent him back to Khokand, and himself assumed supreme power in the year 1867. After consolidating his rule in the three principal cities of Turkistan, he marched eastward, and in two separate expeditions captured the towns of Aksu, Turfan (July, 1870), and Urumtsi; these last two he took from the Tungani rebels. Yakoub was at first best known as the Atalik Ghazi (the tutor crescentader), a title conferred on him by the Amir of Bokhara, and in 1873, the year of our visit, he received from the Sultan of Turkey the title of Amir, and commenced to strike coins at Kashgar in the name of the Turkish Sultan.

This was the monarch to whom the Forsyth Mission was accredited in 1873.

In 1868 the adventurous travellers Shaw and Hayward—the former a Kangra merchant and tea-planter—had penetrated to Kashgar, and had been well received by the Atalik Ghazi. Hayward was subsequently murdered in Yassin, but Shaw returned to India, and his representations, and the somewhat exaggerated ideas about the possibility of an extensive trade between India and Turkistan, induced the Indian Government to despatch Mr. Forsyth on a complimentary mission to the Atalik, but with very precise instructions not to penetrate to the interior of the country unless perfect quiet prevailed throughout the kingdom. On his arrival at Yarkand, he learned that the Atalik was engaged in hostilities upon the eastern frontier, so he was compelled under his instructions to return to India without delay.

In 1872 the Atalik sent a very able official, Yakoub Bey Thora, to Constantinople on a mission to the Sultan of Turkey, and as he had

reported that perfect quiet reigned in the country, the Government of India decided to send Mr. Forsyth on a second visit, and it was arranged that Yakoub Bey, on his return from Turkey, should accompany the British Mission to Kashgar.

I have already alluded to some of the difficulties of our journey across the Himalayas to the plains of Turkistan, where we were received with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and where throughout our stay we were treated as honoured guests by the sovereign of the country. At every halting place we were entertained with the best the country could afford. At an entertainment given us by the Dadkhwah, or Governor of Yarkand, our dinner was brought in by 107 soldiers in orderly procession, gorgeously attired in silken garments. These large entertainments always commenced with dessert—i.e., a profusion of varied and most delicious fruit, followed by dainty dishes of meat, game, and vegetables, prepared by excellent Chinese cooks, who had survived the general massacre. The last dish of all was always a bowl of first-rate soup. As this was absolutely the inverse order of our own form of banquets, we had to accustom ourselves to it as best we could. On State occasions, moreover, we had to adopt the posture of the country, and seat ourselves on the ground, with our knees bent, and our bodies resting on our heels.

We found these hospitable banquets, but on a smaller scale, prepared for us at almost every halting place on our road to Kashghar, but hospitality is a feature of the country. On one occasion, while wandering alone away from the road, I entered a peasant's hut, and found him eating his dinner of bread and melon, and nothing would satisfy him but my sitting down to join him at his frugal meal. I was in later years (in 1874, I think) reminded of these roadside entertainments while accompanying the late King George of Greece in his triumphant progress through the then recently annexed districts of Thessaly—when every day, and twice a day, we sat down to hospitable spreads provided by the King's new subjects, when *agneau à la Palikari* (sheep roasted whole) was the principal *pièce de résistance*, accompanied by other savoury dishes.

It was naturally part of my duties to jot down the names and position of villages on or adjacent to our line of march, and, although this story is against myself, I must relate it as a proof that a "little knowledge is a dangerous thing." I found it very curious one day that the same name "Bilmem" was given to me as that of no less than three villages, and, on investigation, I learned that, although my few words of Turkish enabled me to put the question as to the name of a village, my knowledge of that language was not then sufficient to know that "Bilmem" is the Turkish equivalent for "I don't know." It is stated that a Russian explorer similarly recorded the name of a range of mountains as "Allah-bilur," which, being interpreted, means "God knows."

One striking feature in Turkistan at the time of our visit was the security of life and property—a curious contrast to the preceding anarchy of centuries—a direct result of the firm but despotic rule of Yakoub Khan. In the plains it was said that if a man saw a bag of silver on one side of the road he would pass over to the opposite side so that he might not even be seen near it, and in the mountain districts inhabited by the Kirghiz nomads, formerly notorious thieves, I was told if you dropped your whip on the ground you would find it on the same spot if you went there a year afterwards.

The punishment of theft was the loss of a hand, and on one occasion at Kashgar an unfortunate individual came to Dr. Bellew's dispensary, and, after some natural hesitation, pulled his severed hand out of his pocket, and asked the Doctor to affix it in its proper place. Needless to say, he was unable to do so.

We reached our destination, Kashgar, on December 4, and, in accordance with the etiquette of the country, were taken the same day to pay our respects to the Atalik. It was a very formal and solemn proceeding—the Court etiquette was borrowed from Khokand, which, in its turn, had been derived from that of the Great Mogul. We passed through several courtyards, all lined with soldiers in their varied coloured garments, and at last came to the building occupied by the ruler of the country. Our envoy was first introduced alone, and, as he entered the presence chamber by one door, the Atalik entered the opposite end of the room, and bid him welcome. When they were seated, the other members of the Mission were introduced one by one, and took their places—sitting in the posture of the country before described—a terribly awkward position, in full dress and spurs. After an interchange of compliments (in Persian), the usual *Dastarkhwan* was brought in, after which we took our departure.

The Atalik was about sixty years of age, somewhat above medium height—dark complexion, with a thick, black beard, good eyes, and a handsome, intelligent face. His manner was most solemn; his behaviour courteous. He was plainly dressed, with a spotless white turban, and a long, dark, fur-lined overcoat, round which was girded his sword belt, the only weapon he wore.

This was the first informal interview, and a few days later on came the official reception of the Mission, when letters from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and from Lord Northbrook (Viceroy of India), were handed to the Amir in appropriate and valuable caskets, and the various presents from India were brought in and presented. In the interval between the two receptions the Atalik had assumed the new dignity of Amir and the title of Khan bestowed on him by the Sultan of Turkey. Henceforth he was to be known as the Amir Mohamed Yakoub Khan of Kashgar. Gold coins were struck, and prayers recited in the name of the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Aziz Khan.



Negotiations were shortly commenced on the subject of the proposed commercial treaty, which resulted in its signature on February 2, 1874. It was mutually satisfactory to both countries; and preparations were made for our return home.

Towards the close of our stay in Kashgar, a very interesting incident occurred. The Governors of the different provinces began to arrive according to custom with the annual revenue and offerings from their provinces, which they present in person when circumstances permit. Niaz Bey, the Governor of Khotan, brought with him a caravan of 450 camels, laden with carpets, silks, cottons, felts, tents, metal dishes, and other local manufactures; two carts, each carrying about 1,800 lbs. of gold and silver, two cartloads of superior jade, 150 led horses and 500 donkeys laden with copper coin, to the value of about £4,000.

These contributions from the provinces formed a considerable portion of the Amir's revenue—which was chiefly dependent on the Ushar, or Tithes, taken on all agricultural produce, and on the Customs duties.

The Amir, in addition to being a most doughty warrior, had an extraordinary talent for organization and administration. He had a most efficient police, and crime was almost unknown, but everyone served him from fear rather than from love.

During our stay in the capital, in spite of the severe winter weather, our one wish was to be allowed to travel and explore the country, which was then almost unknown to Europeans. Our ambition was to go to Khotan, and to the semi-mythical Lake Lob on the east, and to the equally little known Pamirs on the west. Our easterly ambitions were never satisfied, and, although we obtained and availed ourselves of the Amir's permission to visit the Turgat Pass and Lake Chadir Kul, and the Russian frontier to the north, and also to the neighbourhood of Ush Turfan to the north-east of Kashgar, and to Maralbashi, which was visited by Captain Biddulph, we were never able to proceed further east. To the west we were more fortunate. We had hoped to return to India by the Pamirs, and through Afghanistan to Cabul, and, although we traversed the Pamirs, and descended the Oxus as far as Kila Panja, the capital of Wakhan, a small State tributary to Afghanistan, we were there met by a refusal on the part of Amir Sher Ali of permission to pass through his territories. The ostensible reason was given that he could not be responsible for our safety. Our party consisted of Colonel Gordon, Captain Biddulph, Dr. Stoliczka, and myself, and, as our instructions forbade us to proceed unless cordially invited by the Amir to his country, we had no alternative but to return to Yarkand, after a few days' very necessary rest, and once more traverse the Karakorum and Himalayan ranges to India. The journey from Kashgar to Kila Panja, taking twenty-two

days, mostly through snow, was extremely arduous; but, although the worst possible season of the year for travelling through these desolate regions, which separate the Turanian, or Turkish-speaking, population on the east from the Iranian, or Persian speaking, people on the west, we were able to make important additions to our geographical knowledge of a country which was principally known to us by the scant but interesting details given us by early and medieval travellers, mainly brought to light by the researches of Sir Henry Yule and Sir Henry Rawlinson; the Chinese traveller, Hwen Sang, in the seventh century; the Venetian Marco Polo in the thirteenth century; the Jesuit Benedict Goetz in the seventeenth; and, last of all, our countryman, Lieutenant Wood, of the Indian Navy, who, in 1838 explored up the Oxus to the Victoria Lake. About half-way to Kila Panja—i.e., on our tenth day from Kashgar—we reached Sarikol, or Tashkurghan, after having travelled up and down over mountain ranges—often along the frozen beds of mountain streams, and through wild, narrow, and precipitous valleys. Tashkurghan was the most western outlying district of Turkistan—both under Chinese rule, as well as under the sway of Yakoub Khan. The original inhabitants of this district were of Iranian stock, and spoke Persian, as well as their own native dialect. Only a few score of them remained, as the greater number had been removed to Kashgar when Yakoub took possession of the country.

Two days from Tashkurghan we crossed the watershed between the River Oxus and the streams flowing eastward to the plains of Turkistan. We then entered the Little Pamir, and passing Lake Chakmak marched for several days down the Oxus Valley to Kila Panja, facing a bitter wind, the famous Bad-i-wakhan, or wind of Wakhan, which made this part of the journey almost more trying than anything we had hitherto experienced.

Much of the country we passed through, both on the outward and return journeys, was new to geography, but since our visit the Pamirs have been visited and fully described by numerous travellers, sportsmen, and officials, so that I shall not inflict on you any further account of the country. Suffice it to say that we varied our road back by passing through the Great Pamir, by the Victoria Lake, and I had the good fortune to shoot an *Ovis Poli*, so-called after the famous Italian traveller. I well recollect the day. It was during a very tedious and long march of thirty-seven miles, mostly through snow. I had been watching with some interest the motions of the dead body of one of our guides from Wakhan, which had been perched up on horseback, supported on each side by one of his comrades, when my attention was suddenly called to the presence of some wild sheep about 200 yards up the hillside. My rifle was handy, and in a few seconds one of them came rolling down. It was the first *Ovis Poli* ever shot



by a European sportsman, but it was, unfortunately, a very poor specimen (and is *not* the one represented in the picture).

I will not weary you with details of our return journey to Yarkand, and our second passage of the Himalayas back to India, the hardships of which, as before narrated, closed the promising career of our highly esteemed colleague, Dr. Stoliczka.

But it is time to return to the fortunes of the Amir Yakoub, whom we left in March, 1874, in the plenitude of his power. Two years later I was travelling in China, and learned from Sir Brooke Robertson, our Consul at Canton, that the Chinese were marching armies for the recovery of Eastern Turkistan, but that their progress was slow, as, on account of the shortness of provisions, they had to halt their armies, sow corn, wait till it was harvested, when they would again advance.

Before describing the Chinese reconquest of the country I should like to say a few words as to the relations between Russia and Kashgar during the rule of the Atalik. When the latter first consolidated his power the Russians were rapidly extending their own frontier in the Khanates of Western Asia, and gave him but little thought, and, in order not to offend the Chinese, abstained for several years, much to Yakoub's annoyance, from any official recognition of his position. Yakoub behaved throughout with much firmness and dignity, but as his power increased, and also his renown in the world of Islam—as a staunch and valiant Moslem—the Russians found themselves forced to give way, and in 1872, the year before our arrival in the country, an official mission was despatched under General Kaulbars to negotiate a Commercial Treaty, which was easily effected, as the Atalik was only too pleased to have his ambition gratified, and receive an accredited Envoy from the Czar. Notwithstanding these apparently friendly relations, disputes arose between the two countries, and the Russians, both in 1873 and 1875, made extensive preparations for the invasion of the country, probably with the view of replacing Yakoub by a nominee of their own, who would be more subservient to Russia; but most fortunately for the Amir he was saved from invasion in 1873 by the Russian campaign against Khiva, and again in 1875 by the outbreak of a general insurrection in Khokand, the greater part of which country had been annexed by Russia. There is no doubt that the Russians were intensely annoyed at the dignities and honours conferred on the Atalik in 1873 by the Sultan of Turkey and of the Amir's recognition of the latter as paramount power.

But Russian anxieties on this question were speedily put an end to by the appearance of Chinese armies destined for the reconquest of their lost provinces.

It appears that these were first put in motion in 1874 after the

suppression of the Panthay Rebellion, but at least two winters had elapsed in the difficult passage through the desert before they reached the eastern frontiers of Turkistan, and it was only late in the autumn of 1876 that they captured Oorumtsi, and lay siege to Manas, and took a bloody revenge for the massacres of their countrymen fourteen years previously.

After the capture of Manas the Chinese Army made a long halt, giving time to the Amir to concentrate at Turfan, under his personal command, about 20,000 troops, in addition to 10,000 Tunganis of doubtful loyalty. These were opposed by about 60,000 Chinese, much better armed and equipped.

In March, 1877, a decisive battle took place in the neighbourhood of Turfan. The Amir was defeated, and after a second fight at Karashahr, retired to Kurla, where he expired on May 1. The cause of his death still remains unknown—some attribute it to natural causes, some to poison, others to assassination by Hakim Khan, a reputed son of Buzurg Khan Khoja. His second son carried his father's body back to Kashgar, and on arrival there was murdered in cold blood before his father's corpse by his elder brother, Begkuli Bey, who was jealous of his brother's renown as a soldier. General anarchy followed. Separate governments were established at Khotan and Yarkand. Begkuli Bey found himself opposed by our old acquaintance, the Kirghiz Chief, Sadik Bey, and, after defeating him, went eastward to attack other rivals, among whom was Hakim Bey above mentioned, and, as a consequence of this internecine strife, the country was depopulated, and the Chinese slowly and steadily advanced, and at last, late in 1877, successfully occupied Kashgar. All that resisted were mercilessly put to death, but in many important districts, including Yarkand and Khotan, timely surrender was made, and the inhabitants were comparatively well treated, and escaped condign punishment. Begkuli Bey, after a stubborn but futile resistance, fled to Russia.

Since 1877 the Land of the Six Cities has remained in quiet occupation by the Chinese. In 1881 the province of Kuldja, which had been for ten years occupied by the Russians, was retroceded to China, and Kashgaria and Dzungaria were formed into one province under the name of Sin Kiang, with headquarters at Kuldja, thus reverting to the arrangement existing prior to the Moslem Rebellion.

China has since then passed through troublous times, but without losing her hold on Turkistan. In 1877-78 there was a terrible famine in the provinces of Shensi and Shantung, when twelve or thirteen millions of the population are said to have perished. In 1882 there was a quarrel with France over Annam, and the Chinese Fleet was subsequently destroyed at Foochow. In 1894 came war with Japan over Corea, ending in disaster, and the cession of Liantung and the

island of Formosa; but, under pressure from Russia, Germany, and France, Japan had to yield her conquest on the mainland, and Russia and France obtained important concessions. In 1897 Germany seized part of the province of Shantung as compensation for the murder of two German missionaries, and in the following year Weihai-Wei was occupied by the British, and a general scramble took place between the European Powers for railway concessions.

In 1898 came the great reform movement, followed in 1900 by the Boxer Rebellion, and the murder of missionaries, and of the German Minister in Peking. This was followed by the capture of Peking by the allied forces of the European Powers, and the rescue of the gallant defenders of the Foreign Legations, with the late Sir Claude MacDonald at their head. In 1904 came the British invasion of Tibet, and the occupation of Lhasa, and trouble between Russia and China about Manchuria—in more recent years revolutions and counter-revolutions, on which it is unnecessary to enlarge.

What the final outcome will be no one can foretell, but it seems probable that the present world war may result in China being able to work out its own salvation, and recover some of its territorial losses of recent years, more free from interference by foreign countries. On the other hand, unless Russia rallies, and forms a strong and capable government—which we all earnestly wish for, both for our own sake and that of Russia—it is by no means improbable that revolution and anarchy will break out among the Moslem countries of Central and Western Asia, and of the western provinces of China, with results that it is impossible to contemplate without horror.

Colonel A. C. YATE said that, though he had never been to Kashgar, he had tried to acquire some little knowledge of the country, and rose in response to a request from Sir Henry Trotter that he would take part in the discussion. He wished to draw attention to the way in which members of the Society, and others connected with it, had been connected with Kashgar. He would not mention Sir Thomas Holdich because he would speak for himself, and the lecturer had already mentioned the late Sir Thomas Gordon, whose memoir had been written for their Journal by Sir Mortimer Durand. Another member of the Forsyth Mission, who had made his mark both as traveller and Oriental linguist, was Dr. Bellew. He accompanied Sir Harry Lumsden on his mission to Kandahar in 1857, and also joined Sir Frederick Goldsmid's mission to Sistan, whence he found his way to Baghdad, and so back to India. He was also well known in Cabul at the time of our last Afghan campaign. Of Sir Francis Younghusband they might recall his journey from Peking across the Gobi desert and his perilous passage of the Mustagh Pass, and his rencontre on the Pamirs with Colonel Grombchevsky, who on the part of Russia carried out a decidedly active policy in and around

Turkistan, as Dr. Morrison has also recorded. Reference had been made in the lecture to Sir George Macartney, the British representative at Kashgar, who had lectured a year or two back before the Society, and who was no doubt at Kashgar at the present moment. Sir George was temporarily relieved there at an earlier stage of the war (1915) by Sir Percy Sykes, another of their members, whom his sister, Miss Ella Sykes, accompanied. She, on her return, lectured to the Society (February, 1916) on "Seven Months in High Asia." He could hardly refrain from making some reference also to the travels of Dr. Morrison, at present in Pekin, together with Sir Richard Dane, another Englishman in the service of the Chinese Government. How they found life in Pekin during these troublous days was but little, if at all, known. Dr. Morrison, whom he had met in Pekin in 1898, the period of the Port Arthur crisis, travelled right across Central Asia from Pekin, through Kashgar to Andijan, the terminus of the Trans-Caspian Railway, and wrote a series of very interesting letters on his experiences, which appeared in *The Times* of 1910. Railway developments in that part of Asia, a subject by no means overlooked by Dr. Morrison, had been discussed before them by Mr. Bury, who described his journey down the Siberian to the Trans-Caspian Railway. For a good many years, now the Russians had projected a connection between the two railway systems. Vierny or Vernoe promised to become an important junction. The subject was treated, if he remembered rightly, by Lord Bryce, when a guest at their annual dinner three or four years ago, with the knowledge and lucidity for which he was distinguished. The first man he recollected meeting who had been to Kashgar was the well-known Captain Deasy. He remembered very well his receiving the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and being one of the principal guests at the annual dinner that year, now nearly twenty-years ago. It was not always that a man called upon to make a speech made a thoroughly good one; but Captain Deasy seemed to have the natural gift, and his speech was excellent. By that time Deasy had retired from the Army, and subsequently seemed rather to disappear from the world in which they were interested. But he saw from "Who's Who" that some years ago Deasy created a record by driving his 14 h.p. Martini car from Caux to Rochers de Naye "on the ballast of the cogwheel mountain railway." Those who remembered something of the gradient (about 1 in  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ) of that railway and the precipices which it skirted would realize that to drive up that track required a most uncommon nerve.

Marco Polo tells us that, visiting Merv and Samarkand, he found the inhabitants Christian, but proceeding onward to Yarkand, Kashgar, and Khotan, he found them Moslem. The Nestorian Christianity of those days was dead, but naturally under Russian rule and influence

that of the Eastern Church had come in. Mahommedanism was very strong throughout Turkistan. He recalled that, after the annexation of Upper Burma, when a small British column, of which he was Intelligence Officer, moved up from Mandalay to the frontiers of Yunnan, they met numbers of Panthay mule drivers. "Panthay" is the Burmese name for the Moslem of Yunnan and perhaps other parts of China. The Taiping is also spoken of as the Panthay Rebellion. The Panthay muleteers trained their mules to march one by one in single file along the mountain paths, and Panthay mule-droves seemed to work to perfection in such country. Indian transport mules were chained nose to tail in batches of three, and on more than one occasion he saw the tail mule fall over the "khud" or back down a steep slope and pull over or back the other two. He could not but note the superior training of the Panthay mules. His old regiment, the 129th Duke of Connaught's Own Baluchis, took some part in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, though this was long before his day. Still, photographs commemorating that period (1864) had come into his possession, and during the twenty-six years which he spent in the 1st and 2nd (now 127th and 129th) Baluchis, the trophies from China adorned, with those from other campaigns, the walls of the Baluch Brigade Mess at Karachi. Army reorganization had broken up that mess, but had only added laurels to the brows of the Brigade; for the 129th Baluchis had not only been the first Indian regiment to enter the trenches in France against the Germans, but also the first Indian corps to a sepoy of which the Victoria Cross had been awarded. General Sir James Willcocks, who commanded the Indian Army Corps, has suggested that the motto "Primus in Europâ" be given to the 129th, just as "Primus in Indis" was assigned a century and a half ago to the 39th (now Dorset) Regiment. Chinese Gordon might almost have suggested "Primus in Sinis."

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Thomas Holdich) said that Sir Henry Trotter had given them an exceedingly useful *résumé* of the history of a little-known part of Eastern Turkistan. Such a concise account of what had occurred in those regions was very much wanted. But their President had been a little too modest. He did not say that the results of his first geographical efforts in that part of the world showed us how exceedingly ignorant we were of everything which existed beyond the Himalayas at that time. In fact, our ignorance then was something almost pathetic. He remembered very well hearing two distinguished Generals talking to each other about regions beyond the Himalayas, and one was suggesting some interference with Afghanistan. The other replied, "What will our friend the Swat of Yarkand say to that?" Though he was young at the time, he knew that there was no potentate in Asia called the Swat (laugh-

ter), and that Yarkand and Afghanistan had no sort of connection with each other. But at that time they did not know where the Oxus started, or even where it ran. It was Colonel Trotter's preliminary work with his native surveyors which first started fuller explorations and surveys. Now we had not only got a very fair idea of the geography of that part of Central Asia, but had actually connected the geodesic triangulation of India with the triangulation of Russia across the Himalayas. The work Sir Henry accomplished on that occasion was considered so excellent that he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society for it.

To him the great interest of those regions was more or less historical. The Pamirs were flanked on three sides by countries which were the home of Buddhism. It was to him a curious fact that although Buddhism arose in India it flourished very much more in Central Asia than it ever did in India. They were no doubt familiar with the results in main outline of Sir Aurel Stein's late explorations. He had found that in the early centuries of our era not only was the desert extending east from Kashgar sprinkled more or less with flourishing towns; but that almost every town held some Buddhist shrine which was an object of pilgrimage. Extending right across the desert were hospitable caravansaries where pilgrims could stay and get relays of post-horses. This was before the sand waves enveloped these regions. Sir Henry had mentioned Lake Lob Nor, which undoubtedly was the basis of all the prosperity of that great region. It was a remarkable instance in the world's geography of the dependence of a huge tract of territory on a shifting lake which has not entirely disappeared even now, but has greatly changed its position.

It was through that region that early Chinese pilgrims sought the way to India. We had the story of the travels and sufferings of these extraordinary people, and by following the lines of route they had taken we had traced their places of pilgrimage, and had been able to follow with some understanding the pathetic accounts of their troubles. Huge dragons were said to sit on the mountain tops and throw down on them avalanches of gravel and stone, and they saw great and evil portents in the sky. Then followed in these delightful records naïve expressions of wonder at the beauty and richness of the Indian plains. What was said in relation to geographical facts had been shown by the scientific investigations of our own day to be substantially true. The pilgrim tales of the shrines they visited, which for a very long time were regarded as probably apocryphal, had turned out to be substantially correct. The shrines are there, but they are under the land.

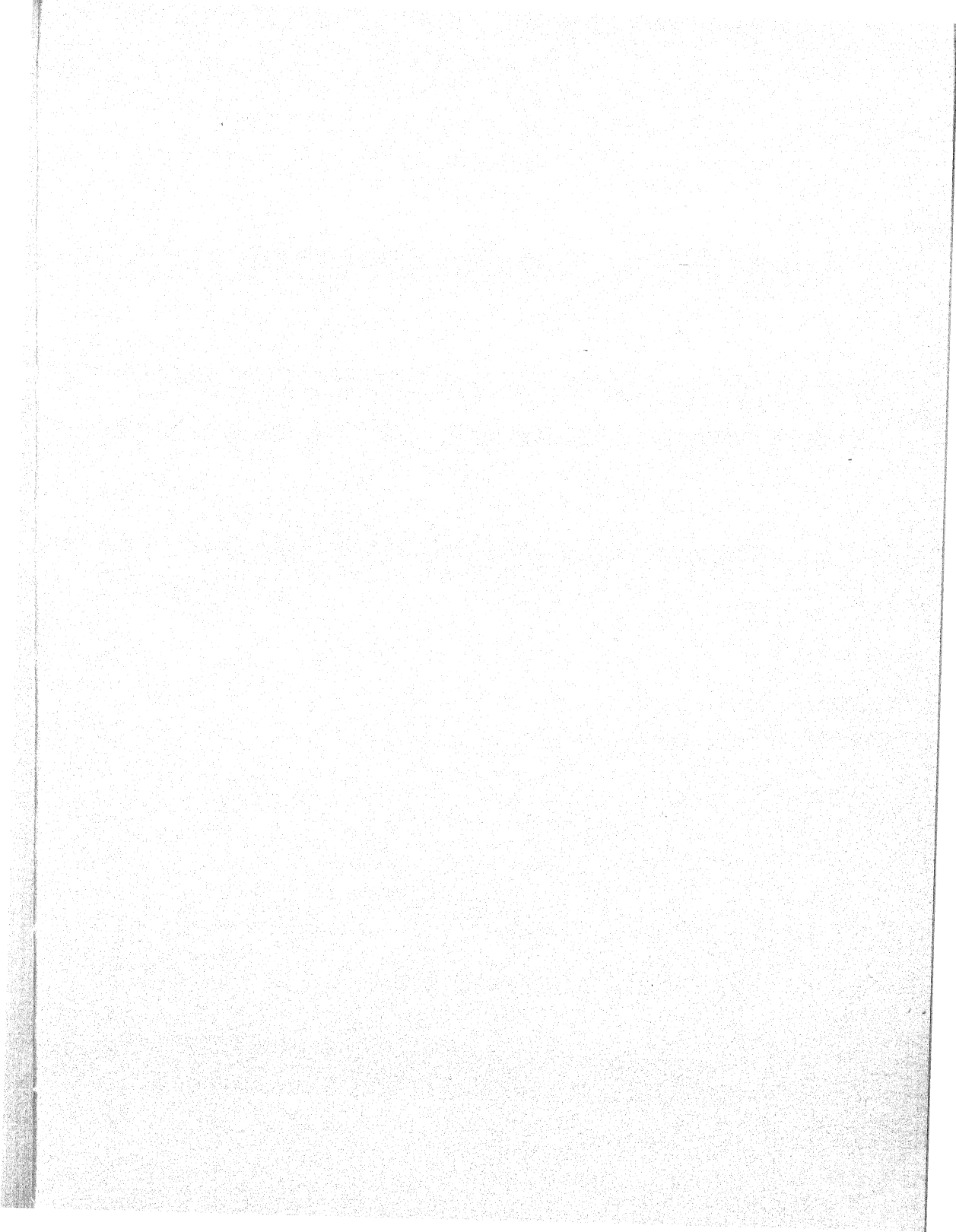
SIR HENRY TROTTER, in responding to a vote of thanks moved from

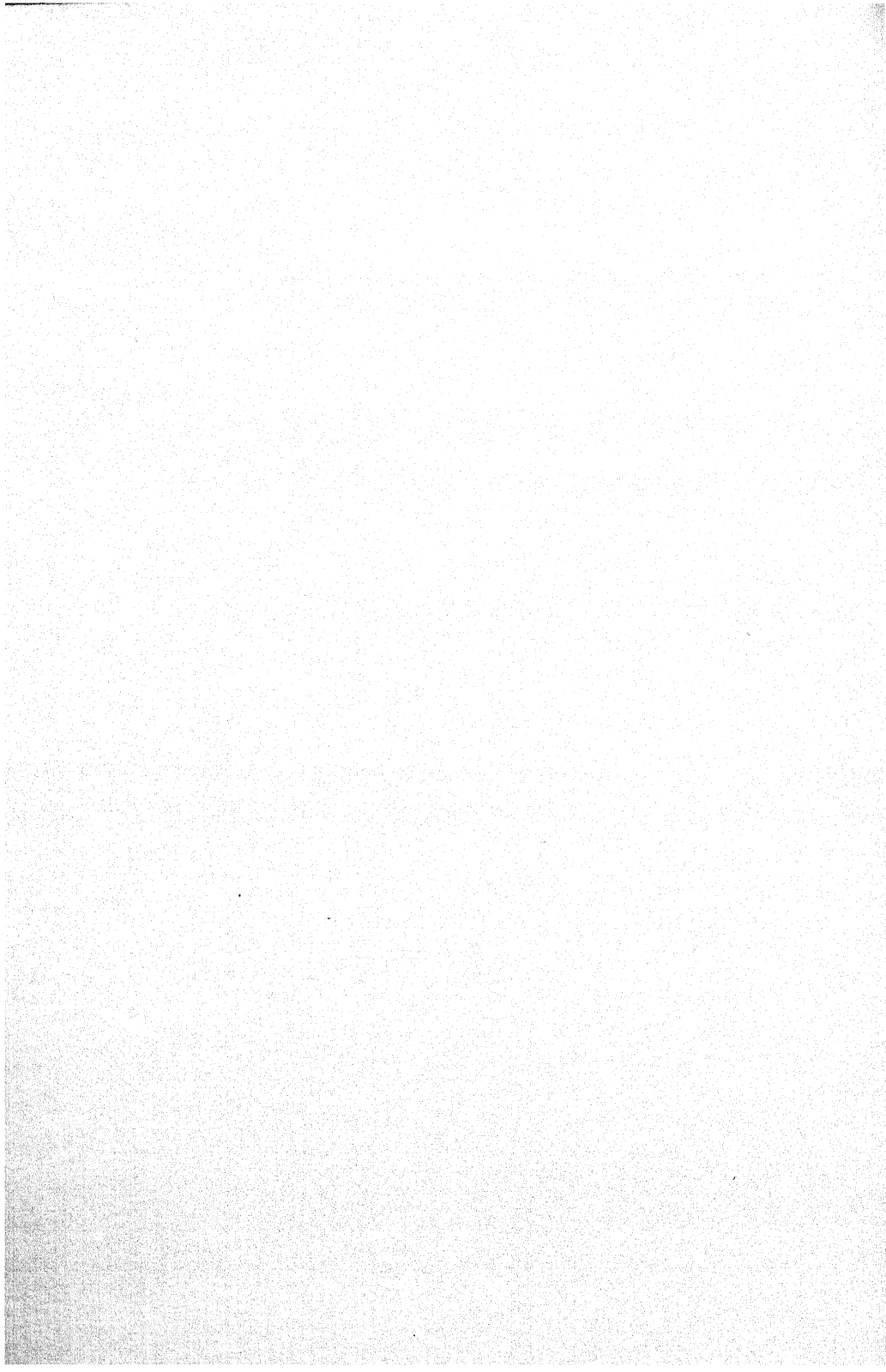


## 112 THE AMIR YAKOUB KHAN AND EASTERN TURKISTAN

the chair, said he wished to take the opportunity to refer to the loss they were sustaining by the retirement of Miss Hughes, who had been their secretary—a most admirable secretary, from the very inception of the Society—and was now about to be married. In their name he wished to thank her, and to say how deeply indebted they were to her. The members of the Council would back him up in saying how deeply sensible they were of the very valuable and useful work she had done. They all joined in wishing her a most happy future.







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*CONTENTS.*

**BRITAIN'S BUFFER STATES IN THE EAST.**

By COLONEL A. C. YATE.

## BRITAIN'S BUFFER STATES IN THE EAST

At a meeting of the Society on December 5, 1917, with Colonel Sir Henry Trotter in the chair, Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate read the following paper:

It is only within the last few years that British public opinion has realized that the enemy against which the British Buffer State system in the East has been built up and is being maintained is not Russia only. The present war has ere this demonstrated that to threaten India is open to two great nationalities—the Teuton as well as the Slav. Some forty years ago the Earl of Beaconsfield had to impress upon his fellow-countrymen that Herat was not the key of India. What he affirmed then—viz., that the key of India is held in the capital city of the British Empire—holds good still; nay, more, it receives added confirmation from the present war. When Russia was devoting herself to the completion of the Orenburg-Tashkent and Trans-Caspian Railway routes, and to the initiation of the Trans-Persian Railway which would terminate in “a Russian port on the Persian Gulf”—as I heard one of the Russian promoters of that railway say at an Anglo-Russo-French meeting in Paris in 1911—and, further, when she was, with Omsk on the Trans-Siberian Railway as a starting-point, planning and constructing a line which, at Vierny, was destined to unite the Turkistan and Siberian systems, we might then well fix our eyes on the Oxus, and note every extension that brought a Russian road or railway nearer to the northern and north-western frontiers of Afghanistan. We had almost equally good cause to keep our eyes upon the Pamirs and Thibet, and to watch Russian movement in the direction of Kuldja and Outer Mongolia. Dr. Morrison,\* who in July, 1910, was at Kashgar, the Chinese city which was the central theme of Sir Henry Trotter's lecture here five weeks ago, has left us in a few words an outline of the present and future of that region which I deem it instructive to quote here: “The two chief routes to Kashgar from Russian Turkestan are—first, a route available for pack animals only from the railway at Andijan by Osh and Gulcha, entering Chinese territory at Irkeshtam, and thence in five stages reaching Kashgar city; and, secondly, the important cart-road which leaves the Tashkent-Oren-

\* He appeared in the illustrated papers in November as one of a group of five representatives of the Allied Powers who had actuated China to declare war against Germany.



burg Railway a few stations north of Tashkent at Kabulsai, runs by Pishpek, Tokmak, and Kutemaldi on the Lake Issik-Kul to Narin, a total distance of 544 miles, and then enters China by the Targat Pass, reaching Kashgar city in ten stages. All Russian officials travel this way. They can travel the whole way in tarantass. East of Tokmak is Vierny, a city connected by cart-road with Kuldja in the one direction and with Semipolatsk in the other. Vierny will be the future junction of the Central Asian Railway with the Trans-Siberian Railway." Thus far Dr. Morrison. We cannot yet tell in what way the recently-formed agreement between the United States and Japan with regard to China will affect Russian plans in this part of Asia, in which the preservation of the *status quo* is distinctly in the interests of the British Empire. A strong Western China and a strong Afghanistan are the bulwarks of the Eastern Section of our Buffer-State line in Asia. Whether the self-denying Russian Socialist ordinance of "no annexation" is in itself a guarantee to the Celestial Empire that in future its boundaries will be regarded as "holy ground," time alone can decide.

This war has transferred the pivot of Britain's Asiatic Buffer-State system from the Oxus to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and from the figurative "Herat" to the very real Constantinople. With that historical metropolis of the Eastern Roman and Turkish Empires as the handle I see the Buffer system, in the shape of a fan, expanding, until it embraces the Nile on its right and the Oxus on its left. You will allow me to remind you that the motto of "no annexation and no indemnity" has been adopted only by the Socialist classes of Russia. Their mouthpiece in this country has been Mr. Arthur Henderson. Three weeks ago a *Daily Chronicle* interviewer told us that he had it direct from Mr. Henderson that "the working classes of Russia were convinced that, when the Allied Governments agreed to 'the old Russian Régime' having Constantinople, they must have secured guarantees in return for the annexation of territory in Turkey, Persia, and elsewhere.\* I consider myself that Great Britain

\* *The Times* of December 1, 1917, is enabled, thanks to the indiscretions of the Bolshevik leaders, to publish "A memorandum summarizing the terms of an agreement concluded in the spring of 1916 between Great Britain, France, and Russia regarding the future of Asiatic Turkey. Russia was to obtain the province of Erzurum, Trebizond, Van, Bitlis, and Southern Kurdistan to the Persian frontier; France to receive the Syrian littoral; and Great Britain Southern Mesopotamia, with Baghdad, also the ports of Haifa and Akka on the Syrian coast. The zone between the French region and the British in Mesopotamia was to become the territory of an independent Arabian State or of a confederation. Alexandretta was to be declared a free port. Palestine and the Holy Places were excluded from Turkish territory, and to be subject to a special control in accordance with the convention among the three Powers." (For others see the *New Europe*, Nos. 62, 63. A. C. Y., January 3, 1918.)

cannot possibly round off the Buffer system without annexation, and I purpose in this lecture to indicate where I think that annexation will be necessary. The thousands of millions which we have spent upon this war, some considerable portion of which has gone to our Allies, Russia included, entitle us to such annexation. If the Russian proletariat chooses to profess doctrines which I am not disposed to dignify even by the term "Quixotic," such profession is not binding on the other Allies. Nor will it be binding. From certain points of view we are distinctly indebted to the Russian Revolution, but those points do not include the Bolshévist. I myself reserve my regard for two names—(1) Prince Youssoupoff, who, as Count Seoumarokoff Elston, studied for some years at the University of Oxford, and (2) M. Miliukoff, whose presence in August, 1916, at the Summer Meeting of the University of Cambridge will not have been forgotten. Prince Youssoupoff, since he rid Russia of Raspútin, has retired again to private life. M. Miliukoff, who denounced and dismissed the pro-German Premier Sturmer, is the leader of the Cadet Party, but can come to no terms with the Extremists of Russia. None the less, he asserts his opinions stoutly, and makes his influence felt. M. Maklakoff, the Russian Ambassador at Paris, a most important office at this time, is also of the Cadet Party. The return of M. Miliukoff and his party to power is not to be despaired of. I infer from what I read and hear that Cadets and Cossacks, Kalédin and Korniloff, may yet set the Colossus upon its legs.

We have still among us in England one who is essentially of "the old Russian Régime," and who, under that régime, has been, and still is, a respected figure in the history of Anglo-Russian relations; nor must we forget that in the wars of her country those who were nearest to her have laid down their lives. Her brother, Nicolas Kiréeff, was "the first Russian Volunteer killed in Servia in July, 1876." She commands our sympathies in this hour of her country's distress. Servia has been loyal to the Slav cause in this war. Bulgaria turned renegade. If you have not read in the *New Europe* for November 15, "How Austria-Hungary treats the Jugo-Slavs," read it, and then decide in your own minds whether Servia or Bulgaria chose the worthier cause. Neither Belgians, French, nor Armenians seem to have experienced treatment so fiendish as that meted out to the Servians. History records nothing more diabolic even in the Thirty Years' War, when, to quote Gardiner, "Soldiers treated men and women as none but the vilest of mankind would treat brute beasts," and "outrages of unspeakable atrocity were committed everywhere." The Jugo-Slav revenge will be to block the *Drang nach Osten*, and it rests with the Allies to see that this revenge is complete. That Greece, ignoring her obligations to Britain, France, and Russia, would "rat" to the Teuton was not foreseen. Russia, as a matter of fact, when she

helped to emancipate Greece, created a new candidate for Constantinople, and Berlin did the rest. However, Greece is now, for the time at least, herself again.

The fallacy of opinions put forward about Russia since this war began defies comment. *The Times*, which was far from guiltless, candidly confessed its fault, six or seven months ago, in these words: "Two months ago we were most of us acclaiming the dawn of a new era in Russia with almost as much enthusiasm as Charles James Fox showed at the fall of the Bastille. 'How much the greatest event is this that has ever happened,' he said, 'and how much the best!' Seventeen years later Fox died at the head of a Coalition Ministry, forced to combat the forces born of the revolution that he had welcomed; and doubts have already dimmed our faith in Russian redemption." That is answer enough for all the ignorant hallucinations of a sentimental school, not of thought, but of dreams.\* Mr. H. W. Nevinson commences an article in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1917, entitled "The Dayspring in Russia," thus: "Never has a revolution been so happy in its opportunity." I must ask you to look at Russia at this moment, and then form your opinion of Mr. Nevinson's judgment and of that of the Editor who committed his Review to such undue optimism, inspired solely by Radical and Socialist sympathies. If you would set against this sound Liberal views in regard to Austro-German ambitions, study Mr. Wickham Steed in the *Edinburgh Review* for October last, who there argues that the test of the political victory or defeat of the Allies will be "the extent to which they are able to create in Central and South-Eastern Europe a chain of independent or federated national States, whose vital interest it would be to resist German political and economic hegemony." I myself consider that that is only one, although a most crucial, test of our Buffer system. I propose to indicate others in the course of this lecture. Mr. Lovat Fraser, a member of this Society, tried in May, 1917, as the mouthpiece of one of Lord Northcliffe's organs, the *Daily Mail*, to persuade his fellow-countrymen that British troops in Macedonia, Palestine, or Mesopotamia were thrown away. The *Temps* promptly replied that General Sarrail's army had saved the situation in the Mediterranean. Mesopotamia and Palestine can now speak for themselves. Whether and where Generals Allenby and Marshall will, if ever, join hands is little more than guess-work. Damascus or Homs are likely points. The Turks may be expected to concentrate near Aleppo or Adana. On the other hand, Armenia and the Caucasus may call upon our army of the Tigris. The latest authoritative intelligence that I have says:

\* Messrs. J. W. Mackail, Charles Sarolea, Geoffrey Drage and Stephen Graham, not to mention fair enthusiasts, have all indulged in laudatory hyperbole which now stamps itself as absurd.

"The state of the Russian army on the Caucasus frontier is most unsatisfactory. The only part of it which, apparently, is sure to fight against the Turks, is that which consists of Armenians, who have already fought splendidly there; and no wonder, considering what Armenians have suffered from Turkish massacres." Thus Armenia looks to us, and just beyond the Caucasus lie the Kuban, Terek, and Don Cossacks, the followers of that loyal Russian subject, General Kalédin. I invite you to consider what the Chiefs of the Allied Military Missions meant, when, by order of their Governments, they informed the Russian General Staff that "any violation of the treaty by Russia would have the most serious consequences." It must mean that they will not desert the Russians who are loyal to the treaty. We can get into touch with Kalédin through the Caucasus, and I counsel the Cadets to keep a stern grip on Alexandrowsk and Archangel. The Allies may have to save Russia from herself. In the sixties of the nineteenth century Russia occupied Kuldja during the Taiping rebellion. In the twenties of the present century China may return the compliment by occupying Russian Turkistan. The United States and Japan can, and doubtless will, keep Siberia in order, and the Siberian railway in working order.

My thoughts had led me thus far when last Saturday's papers brought me the views of the Rumanian General Ilescu. I admire greatly the breadth and farsightedness of his grasp of the possibilities of the future. The rôle of our army of the Tigris seems settled, and we need not despair of Southern Russia and the Black Sea. Persia must be kept open for through traffic from the Persian Gulf to Trebizond, Tiflis, Batoum and the Cossack regions. Of Afghanistan I premise nothing; but it may be that the Amir Habibullah Khan may, at a crisis, use his military power to some purpose. Our entire Buffer system from the Balkans to Baluchistan is in the melting-pot, and we wish it to solidify into a good line, both of communication and defence. I hope we can strengthen our army of the Tigris, and I see no reason why the twentieth century should not see revived the days of Christie, Lindsay-Bethune, and Hart—the British officers who made the Persian army of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Early in the present century our Foreign Office, then presided over by the Marquis of Lansdowne, obviously had an inkling that some new danger threatened our position in the East, but some time elapsed before the "man in the street" understood what that danger was. Sir Edward Grey, now Viscount Grey of Fallodon, continued Lord Lansdowne's policy and concluded with Russia the Agreement of 1907. It is always understood that Lord Hardinge of Penshurst and Lord Carnock (Sir Arthur Nicholson), who for eleven years past have between them monopolized the post of Permanent Under-

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, were fully alive to the serious nature of Germany's new-born ambitions in the East. I treated that subject two years ago in an article entitled "Berlin in Quest of Asiatic Dominion," which appeared in the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution for February, 1916. That article traces the growth of the Austro-German conception of Asiatic conquest or control, and incidentally dwells upon the instability of political relations between State and State. Apropos of that, Lord Bryce wrote to me in March, 1916, a letter which he now kindly authorizes me to quote. What he wrote is this: "Nothing is of more service than to correct the habit politicians and journalists have of assuming that the present political relations of States will last. Your article brings out with singular force and clearness how often we have gone wrong by such assumptions. Few, if any, statesmen have escaped doing so. The same error is likely to be repeated at the end of this war. You are right in thinking that Constantinople ought not to be given to a Great Power. Unhappily it seems to have been already promised." We are given the clear warning that Constantinople should not be given to any one Great Power, and, further, that at the end of this war statesmen will be liable to forget that "political relations will not last," just as they have done before. I have quoted the late Admiral Mahan's opinion about the Black Sea and its outlet Straits so often that I gladly now tell you instead what Lord Redesdale ("Further Memories," p. 274) thought of their cession to a great Power: "Only think what it meant: the Black Sea changed from the position of an inland lake; access to the Mediterranean through the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; the potentiality of a huge navy ready to dart out upon the world from hidden and unapproachable harbours; a strategic base from which to attack all the maritime powers of Europe." That is Lord Redesdale's view. Under the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) the navigation of the Mediterranean was to be confined to French, Russian, Spanish, and Italian ships. These are facts which enjoin upon our statesmen caution, and amply endorse Lord Bryce's warning that, at the end of this war, statesmen may forget that political relations do not last. Our journalists, notably *The Times* and the *Spectator*, signally forgot it three years ago. It was not till December, 1916, that M. Trepoff, then the Russian Premier, announced to the Duma that Britain and France had agreed to the permanent occupation of Constantinople and the Straits by Russia at the end of the war. Before 1914 had come to a close the *ballons d'essai* of *The Times* and *Spectator* were already in the air, and wild were some of their gyrations. The *Spectator* could not make up its mind whether Russia should get at Constantinople by annexing the entire north coast of Asia Minor, or by depriving Rumania and Bulgaria of their strips of Black

Sea coast. I am not surprised that Bulgaria joined Germany, and I am convinced that Rumania found it hard to choose the side that it should take; but for the treachery of King Constantine's Greece no words can express sufficient resentment. Italian ambitions certainly complicated matters. The words of M. Sazonoff, warning Italy in 1915 that she might find Dalmatia not a bridge but a wall between her and the Balkans, are not to be forgotten. What mad impulse made our Government offer King Constantine Cyprus? King Constantine, unwittingly, by his refusal conferred an inestimable boon upon a Government, the foreign policy of which cannot but go down to history as a failure.\* The Earl of Beaconsfield purposely took Cyprus as a *tête-de-pont* to protect Alexandretta, the projected terminus of his Baghdad Railway, the railway which, I trust, Britain is going to have at the end of this war as one of her essential links between the Levant and the Persian Gulf. It seems from Lord Morley's "Recollections" that the Kaiser, when in London in 1907 and 1911, befooled our Secretary of State for India. *The Times* unkindly says that it is bravado, not courage, that inspired Lord Morley to refer to this matter now.

The part which India has played, since the outbreak of this war, in securing and improving that Buffer-State system upon which her external security depends, cannot be ignored here. I have studied with care the words and acts of the Cabinet in London and the Government at Simla, and I have come to the conclusion that not a man in authority, since Lord Kitchener left India, had any conception what a campaign against the Turks in Mesopotamia really meant. We know, from the Report of the Mesopotamia Commission, that at first India was overstrained. She stepped gallantly, just as she did in South Africa, into the breach which that Government which scoffed at Lord Roberts could not close. The cartoons for which "F. C. G." of the *Westminster Gazette* was knighted seem to me to stand now as a reproach to him. But all the evidence proves that neither the Military, Foreign, nor Finance Departments of the Government of India had the knowledge that enabled them to judge what campaigning on the Tigris and Euphrates meant. One ex-Indian General paraded in *The Times* his own virtue and omniscience, but Sir V. Chirol, our Vice-President, disposed of him in a few lines. He told that General that proof positive existed that in 1911 the Headquarter Staff at Simla knew nothing of the German danger. I have never forgotten the first German Consul-General at Baghdad telling me twenty-seven years ago that the British Resident there knew nothing. I thought then that the German referred to Russian projects. I was quite as innocent in 1891

\* See R. W. Seton-Watson's article entitled "The Failure of Sir E. Grey" in the *English Review* for February, 1916.



as the Headquarter Staff at Simla in 1911; but, at all events, the welfare of an Army and the safety of an Empire was not dependant upon my incompetence. What convinces me that neither Simla nor the leaders of the British Expeditionary Force at Basra in 1914 understood what a campaign in Mesopotamia involved is the tenor of paragraph 1, part v. (p. 20) of the Mesopotamia Commission's Report. It runs thus:

"Baghdad and the possibility of its becoming an objective of the expedition constantly crops up in the evidence before us. On October 8, 1914—i.e., a week before the expedition had actually left India—the Viceroy wrote unofficially to the Marquess of Crewe to the effect that he would be ready for an attempt on Basra 'or even Baghdad' in the event of Turkey declaring war. On November 23, the day after Basra was occupied by General Barrett's forces, Sir Percy Cox, the Indian Government's Political Representative in Mesopotamia, telegraphed to the Viceroy: 'With General Officer Commanding, I have been studying topographical details bearing on an advance to Baghdad, in case such an advance should be decided upon,' and he proceeded to outline a reasoned proposal for an advance on Baghdad; while three days later, on November 26, the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf wrote to the Indian Government indicating what his requirements in gunboats would be in the event of an advance up the Tigris to Baghdad."

Thus, before the expedition had started, the Viceroy expressed himself ready for an attempt on Baghdad. The three chief personages of the B.E.F. had, the day after landing at Basra, conferred together, and, with the consent of his military and naval colleagues, the Chief Political Officer submitted by telegram to the Viceroy "a reasoned proposal for an advance on Baghdad." That proposal the Viceroy telegraphed to London, whence it was vetoed, and that rightly. Neither the Mesopotamia Commission's Report nor Mr. Lovat Fraser in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1917, remark upon the significance of this fact. It was not that officers of the Indian Army had not visited this country. Within my recollection Dr. Bellew and Colonels Mark Bell, Stewart, and Sawyer travelled there, and an excellent article in the *Pioneer* of 1882 shows the value of the Karun Valley as a means of access, whether for war or trade, to Isfahan and Khoramabad. Mr. Grattan Geary, Mrs. Bishop, Mr. Douglas Carruthers, Mr. David Fraser, Miss Lowthian Bell, Captains Leachman and Shakespear—the knowledge of all these was at Simla's service, not to mention the Political Officers and merchants and engineers who have been running up and down the Tigris. And yet an advance to Baghdad evoked no misgivings except in London, and there in November, 1915, the craving for a signal success *somewhere* silenced caution. Exactly eleven days before the battle of Ctesiphon



Mr. Asquith rose in the House and used these words: "In the whole course of the war there has been no series of operations more carefully contrived, more brilliantly conducted and with better prospect of final success, than the campaign in Mesopotamia." Mr. Asquith had to wait fifteen months, while our gallant army, the victim of ignorance and neglect, fought and endured, before success dawned, and as for its finality, Mr. Asquith may "wait and see." Speaking later on the same evening as Mr. Asquith, Colonel C. E. Yate, a well-known member of this Society, pointed out that India had no Minister of Munitions, that the B.E.F. in Mesopotamia had no trench mortars or high-explosive shells, and an insufficiency of machine guns, and that the troops composing it were as yet inexperienced in bomb-throwing. He urged that Indian troops who had undergone this training in the trenches in France should be moved to Mesopotamia at once to train the regiments there and to support Townshend's advance on Baghdad. He further insisted that more recruits\* and improved recruiting methods were needed in India. We know what followed Townshend's reverse at Ctesiphon. The truth began gradually to leak out. Colonel Yate warned the House again on March 22, 1916. A stone wall would then have been more responsive; but presently it woke up. The Mesopotamia Commission followed, and then—after a spell of shelving and whitewashing—all was hushed up. Mr. A. Boddam Taylor told us here six months ago how he offered the India Office his thirty years' experience of Tigris navigation and was—politely, I trust—bowed out. Those who heard him lecture also heard him say that the shallow-draught boats sent at the outset from the Ganges, Irrawaddy, Nile, etc., were quite useless for the navigation of the Tigris.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to point to at least four members of this Society who have, since this war began, exercised an influence more or less marked upon the events and policy of the time. I take this opportunity of dwelling upon this at a public meeting of this Society and of expressing a hope that the Society will use the power which knowledge gives it with vigour and make its influence felt, and not be guided by timid and lukewarm counsels. People want the truth. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Edward Seymour writes to *The Times* for opinions regarding the disposal of Constantinople and the Straits after the war. I can name six books, putting aside Reviews, on that topic alone, published since August, 1914; but I think Lord Bryce's verdict puts it in a nutshell—"Let no Great Power have them." When we reflect that the Baghdad Railway and the *Drang nach Osten* are the greatest dangers that have threatened India since first Napoleon and Paul, and then Napoleon and Alexander, 110 years

\* The latest reports (*vide The Times*, December 10, 1917) about "Man Power" in India are satisfactory.

ago, planned the invasion of India, we learn with surprise that when the Emperor William II. visited England in 1907 and 1911, he apparently twisted Viscount Morley round his little finger. When a Society like ours sees these things, I venture to suggest that it should take steps, as its wisdom may think fit, to instruct the inquirer and to denounce the delinquent. Here, at any rate, are two themes that invite the thought and pen of members of this Society. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, in a recent article entitled "The Road to India," insists that there can be no compromise with Britain in regard to Germany's road to India, and that Germany must have its outlet on the Persian Gulf. Britain has said that Germany shall not have an outlet on the Persian Gulf, and Britain can best redeem that vow by intercepting Germany's road at the very outset—i.e., in the Balkans and on the Bosphorus.

A hundred pens before mine have reviewed the story of "Russia's March towards India," to use the title of the work by Major-General Herbert Mulla, R.E., which I regard as a trustworthy guide. I myself look back to the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807 as a very important milestone on the road, and it is on "The Treaty of Tilsit and India from 1807 to 1843" that I am to lecture two days hence to the Royal Historical Society. I shall not repeat or forestall what I am to say there. The names of Pottinger, Christie, Malcolm, Elphinstone, Burnes, Abbott, Conolly, Stoddart, Shakespear, and that hardy and eccentric proselytizer and plucky adventurer, Joseph Wolff, recall to us the events which, as Sir Alfred Lyall says,\* "led us, a few years later, out upon the wide and perilous field of Afghan politics. The possibility of the overland invasion of India and the question of the measures necessary for the security of our north-western frontier, were now occupying the minds of India's rulers; and the discussion was beginning that has never since ended." That was written some thirty years ago, and, as you see, we are discussing it still, with this difference: that then a possible Franco-Russian invasion had finally resolved itself into a purely Russian menace, while now the German has thrust himself in between the other two and has invited us to decide which we like best, the Russian pressing on a front that extends from the Persian Gulf to the Pamirs, or the German pushing his railway from the Bosphorus and Levant to the debouchure of the Shatt-el-Arab. Thus the Great Powers ring the changes on the problem of Asiatic ambition of which Alexander, or someone much earlier, was the pioneer; and thus they will continue to ring them. "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." Possibly, by way of the next change, India will find herself facing the "Yellow Peril." More than a century ago, when the Shah of Persia was obsessed by both Britain and France, he found it difficult

\* "British Dominion in India," third edition, p. 305.

to decide which was Codlin and which was Short. Russia made up his mind for him. While France, in the person of General Gardanne, was proposing a joint Franco-Russian invasion of India through Persia, the Shah noticed Russia scowling at him the whole time over his Caucasian fence; whereas Britain, represented by Harford Jones and Malcolm, held out, with apparent frankness and sincerity, the right hand of fellowship. The Shah grasped that right hand and held on to it till 1828, when the imminence of General Paskievitch's armies exercised the tyranny of *force majeure*, and Persia, much harassed, jilted Great Britain and courted the advances of the Czar. This little story illustrates charmingly Lord Bryce's caution to us on the inconstancy of political relations.

In my opinion the two great factors of the last thirty years in the manipulation of the Buffer States of Asia—viz., Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan—and in a minor degree, Egypt, have been the rise of Teutonic influence in Turkey side by side with ever-growing Turkish apprehension of Russia. The latter has been growing, not for three decades, but for two centuries, and such protection from it as Turkey has in the past received from England, France, or Italy, she has for the future forfeited by her insincerity and ingratitude, her massacres of Christians, and her subservience to Germany. Still, Russia pushed her into the arms of Germany. Britain had no choice in 1882 but to establish a protectorate over Egypt, and that protectorate, which we have exercised in a manner which I feel redounds gloriously to our credit, has vastly strengthened our hands in this war, and will strengthen it after the war. Though I hold fast by Disraeli's Alexandretta-Baghdad Railway, I do not forget the opinion of Mr. Douglas Carruthers and Mr. Drummond Black—that a direct line from Egypt to the Shatt-el-Arab is feasible. Palestine is almost ours. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Moreover, the friendship of the King of the Hejjáz guards that railway on the south. We cannot say what influence the visits of bold explorers like Leachman, Shakespear and Carruthers have had upon the Arab Chiefs of northern Central Arabia; but, whatever that influence, the dogged perseverance of our race, winning the way to victory both on the Euphrates and Tigris "through much tribulation," has probably opened their eyes as no Europeans have opened them since the days of the Roman Empire. I do not forget, when I speak of the Turk, that Constantinople is the home of the Caliphate; nor do I forget that His Majesty's Government has pledged itself, in deference to the millions of His Majesty's Moslem subjects, and, I may add, to those of his Allies, to leave the settlement of the Caliphate entirely in Moslem hands. None the less, the conception of a Moslem federation under British suzerainty is no new idea, and the validity of the Ottoman Caliphate is contested by

competent judges.\* But all evidence—and among many witnesses I may specially cite Lord Bryce and Mr. Lewis Einstein—engenders the conviction that the Turk should not continue to rule races and religions alien to his own. If that is our conviction, then we cannot refuse to let the Slav and Teuton share it; but, when Slav or Teuton handles that conviction so as to endanger the British Empire, the case takes another complexion. We recall with a smile the visit of the German Emperor to Jerusalem in 1898, and his appeal then to Islam in the words: “*Puissent sa Majesté le Sultan ainsi que les 300 millions de Mahométans qui vénèrent en lui leur calife être assuré que l'empereur allemand est leur ami pour toujours*”—with a smile, I say, as we reflect that not a tenth part of that 300 millions has arrayed itself under the Kaiser's banner, and that the scene of his dramatic performance is now almost in British hands. The Kaiser in the rôle of Imperial Patriarch doubtless achieved at the moment *un succès fou*, in his own eyes, at all events, but to-day the scene inspires merely the caricaturist pencil of *Punch* in the sarcastic despatch: “Defend Jerusalem at all costs. I was once there myself.” At last the reproach “too late” is lighter upon British shoulders. Neither the tutelary genius of the Kaiser nor the military genius of von Falkenhayn, the two influences which spirited away Jamal Pasha, the gallant defender of Gaza in March and April last, seem able to save Palestine. It is possible that the Turk may be now in doubt whether he was wise in letting fear of Russia drive him into the arms of Germany. Still, my memory recalls a powerful letter—to my regret, I have failed to find it among my papers—written by a notable Turkish refugee in Switzerland soon after Turkey declared war, in which he set forth clearly the reasons why his country had no resource but to court the Kaiser's alliance. The writer was no adherent of Anwar (Enver) or Tala 'at, but a refuge from their tyranny, and I could not steel myself against his facts and arguments. The Turk's New Year's gift for 1916 to civilized humanity also recurs to my memory. His star was then in the ascendant. He proclaimed to Europe, through Berlin and Vienna, that Turkey was the independent equal of any Power in Europe or the world.

We are only now arriving at some conception of the inexhaustible resourcefulness and unscrupulous ingenuity of German intrigue. In that drama the Kaiser has played the leading rôle, witness London, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Potsdam, and Athens. Count Bernstorff and the apostle of *spurious versenkt* merely take a back seat, while the archæologist at Baghdad, ethnologist in Baluchistan, and prospector

\* *Vide* C. A. Nallins's “Califfato” (Rome, 1917, printed at the Italian Foreign Press), whose views are supported by the distinguished Dutch Orientalist, Professor Snouck Hurgronje (*vide Times Literary Supplement*, December 29, 1917).

in China, all three of whom I met in my travels, are mere accessories. The system stamps the moral standard, and when brutality crowns duplicity, we, who almost stand aghast at this criminal confederation of two vices—a confederation which we might have hoped to relegate to Neronian and Inquisitorial epochs—can only register one vow—and that is, that, if we once swore that “Russia should not have Constantinople, or India”—we swear doubly now that Berlin shall be kept at a distance from both.

When we try to concentrate our minds on the history of this Indian Empire of ours, going back, firstly, to the grant of a Charter in 1600 to the company of East India merchants; secondly, to the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in the eighteenth century; and, thirdly, to the question of the security of our north-western frontier; and, having done that to the best of our ability, let our mental glance travel round from the basin of the Nile through Palestine, Turkish Arabia, Persia, and Russian Turkistan, to the Pamirs, we embrace in our survey at once the territory which in three centuries we have won, and its line of circumvallation. Like other nations, we are a prospecting, fighting, and trading community. If we have marked out our “All Red Route” westward from the British Isles, we equally need it eastward. It is a serious obligation; for it means our retention of Gibraltar and Malta, our maintenance of a fleet in the Mediterranean, and the construction of a railway connecting the Levant with the Persian Gulf, and continuing that line from Baghdad or whatever point is most suitable, through Southern Persia and Baluchistan to the Indus Valley and so to all parts of India. And the time must come when railways will connect India with the Pacific coast of China. This is no new story. Britons foresaw it eighty years ago, and Berlin has long talked of “Constantinople to Kiaochow.”\* This “All Red Route” eastward from, say, Alexandretta or Port Said to Sadiya on the Brahmaputra, will come into being in the natural course of the development of our great Asiatic Empire; and I need hardly add that its permanence pivots upon our good government of India, a government which will command the loyalty of His Majesty's subjects there, and which will be able to look to the Dominions Overseas, whether Australian or African, for support.

Before concluding my lecture, I would ask you to follow me rapidly round the circumvallation of Buffer States to which I have already alluded. Commencing from the East we see China and Russia *vis-à-vis* in Turkistan. The European, as usual, has pushed his feelers into the preserves of his Asiatic neighbour in the form of metalled roads, bridges, and consular agents. The Tashkent and Trans-Siberian Railways are, when war and revolution have finished their innings, to meet at Vierny, a little north of Turkistan; and

\* *Vide Daily Mail*, October 21, 1916, and *The Times*, January 16, 1917.



there is no doubt that the long-projected branch lines from Samarcand or elsewhere to the Oxus will in due course be completed. Afghanistan has, outwardly at least, preserved a decorous composure during this war. We know that one of the Secretaries of the German Embassy at Constantinople, Herr von Henting, has, since this war began, spent two years on a mission to Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and China, for the purpose of turning the neutrality of their rulers into hostility to the Allies. Turkish emissaries backed up von Henting's efforts among the Moslems. We have heard of Herr von Henting's return to Berlin, and we are in a position now to say that he has failed. Not only has China declared war against the Central Powers, but the United States and Japan have concluded an agreement which both defeats German intrigue now, and would seem to insure China against the machinations of others, when this war is over. Afghanistan will continue to be within Great Britain's sphere of influence. It is true that in 1838 and 1878 our countering of Russian schemes against Persia and Turkey moved the Muscovite to so intrigue at Kabul that we let ourselves be drawn into the first and second Afghan wars; and who can say that we may not be tempted into a third? Personally, I hope that Afghanistan will gradually allow India to wean her from barbarism. Three years ago I pictured the brilliant future of Afghanistan as the Switzerland of Asia, and thereby drew from my friend Mr. Ameer Ali a pious prayer fervently entreating destiny to protect the Hindu Kush from lugeing, tobogganing, casinos, cafés-chantants, and all such vanities. I almost agree with the Right Honourable gentleman; but the providence that has let loose on man all the infernal machines of this war will surely yield to the blandishments of sport and the pursuit of the almighty dollar.

Persia is quiescent. Six or seven years ago the first authority in England on Persia told me that Azerbaijan would soon go the same way that went the Persian possessions in the Caucasus after the victories of General Paskievitch in 1828—*i.e.*, to Russia. *L'homme propose, Dieu dispose*. The Revolutionary Slav repudiates annexation. Then let Persia now grasp the opportune hour and reform and organize herself. Great Britain requires to develop Southern Persia from the naphtha deposits, near Khanikin, right across to the limit of the British sphere south of the Herât-Mashhad road; nay, I think I should say, to Zulfikar, the western terminus of that Russo-Afghan frontier which we demarcated, after two years of blended amenity, hostility, and diplomacy (which last title covers all the other virtues of negotiation) from the Hari-rud to the Oxus. General Iliescu's farsightedness, however, has made me see that Persia may become an active instrument in saving Russia from herself, and Rumania and the Allies from a breakdown in this quarter. Turkey

has been "the Sickman" for a century, and Persia in *extremis* for the same period. To-day they typify the old maxim "While there is life there is hope," at any rate for Persia.

When it comes to the great tract, largely desert, stretching from the Shatt-el-Arab to the Suez Canal—we know that the British-Asiatic Empire cannot fulfil its rôle, unless Britain is mistress of it. In my opinion, at or near Aleppo two of the greatest railways of the world, and those chiefly under British administration, will meet. The one will come up from our Union of South Africa, following the long-talked-of Cape-to-Cairo route, and the other will come from the Far East. I will again avail myself of Lord Bryce's advice when he wrote: "I should not, if I were you, dismiss the idea of a British Protectorate over Palestine. It would involve less risk than one over Mesopotamia; for we hold the sea. Cyprus, as you say, may have its use." I do not myself see how we can abandon either Palestine or Mesopotamia. The memory of that fine soldier\* Sir Stanley Maude is enshrined in the latter, and the defence of Kut-el-Amara, by General Townshend, will long live. The memory of the gross ignorance and incompetence which have deluged the Mesopotamian sands with blood, will not be washed away by that blood. It would seem to be in a deluge of blood—British, Armenian, and Syrian—that the Zionists are to return to the land which gives them a name. All the traditions of the Holy Land seem to me written in blood and tears. The Prophets of the Old Testament, the historian of the Siege of Titus, Josephus, and the Chronicles of the Crusades, tell the same story. When General Allenby leads British troops into Jerusalem, he will be the first Englishman to do so since Robert of Normandy, in 1099. When he led his army along the sands, flanked by his fleet, to Jaffa, he marched to meet the footsteps of Richard Cœur de Lion,† who, in 1191, moved south from Acre to Jaffa, flanked also by his fleet. What the highly trained "Turcopoles" of the Hospitallers and Templars did for Richard, our no less thoroughly trained Yeomanry under Chetwode have done for Allenby. It is a glorious thing to have crowned the achievements of Richard Yea and Nay, and that gallant Knight Sir Edmund Allenby may well be a proud man to-day. We have, above all nations, a prescriptive right to hold Palestine, and no nation is better qualified to do justice alike to Moslem and Jew than the one which rules over millions of both.‡

We have fought and are fighting in Palestine, in Mesopotamia,

\* I, six or seven months ago, drew the attention of the Central Asian Society to the fact that the initial "M" was of good omen for the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia, and now the mantle of *Maude* has fallen upon *Marshall*.

† See Oman's "History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages."

‡ *Vide* Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali's letter in the *Nation*, November 24, 1917.



in the Mediterranean, and in Macedonia, as surely for the cause of Right and Empire as elsewhere, and what *The Times Literary Supplement*, in a very fine leader entitled "How it will strike Posterity," said a month ago, may well set a coping-stone upon this address. It is this: "We would not have later generations know the whole agony of our own unhappy day. They will read of brave and wonderful deeds on land, on sea, and in the air, and of the brave and wonderful suffering and endurance of soldiers and sailors and airmen; but not even the numerous records of this generation will preserve the complete picture of that courage and endurance, or of the brave and noble spirit with which stricken wives and mothers, worthy of the men they loved, are bearing a burden not the less hard because it is common. We hope to save posterity from the terrible knowledge of what such sufferings are; but we trust that some of the simple and natural expressions of our sorrow which will go down to them will help them to understand something of the price at which their and our freedom is being purchased. We, who know, hope that what will strike a happy and unknowing posterity is not the glory of the coming victory, but the faithfulness unto death which is creating it, and the awful responsibility of those who bring upon the world such things as are happening to-day."

Whether we turn to Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien—the hero of the retreat from Mons—addressing the boys at Bradfield College, and insisting that our splendid Public Schools must go on as they have begun to the end; or to Mr. T. E. Page in *The Times* (December 4) contending that the very blood of those fallen cries out against premature peace; or to General Sir James Willcocks' tribute in verse (*Blackwood*, December, 1917) to the Indian Army in this war, the same spirit inspires all, and that spirit inspired Shakespeare 320 years ago. *Vide* "1 Henry VI., Act V., Scene IV.:

"York. Is all our travail turned to this effect?  
After the slaughter of so many peers,  
So many captains, gentlemen and soldiers,  
That in this quarrel have been overthrown  
And sold their bodies for their country's benefit,  
Shall we at last conclude effeminate peace?"

The CHAIRMAN said that, as he had anticipated, they had had an interesting and instructive lecture, and the lecturer had raised many points of great importance. Among other things, he had said that it was the duty of their Society to instruct inquirers and denounce delinquents. So far as the first part of this view of the functions of the Society was concerned, he was in the fullest harmony with Colonel Yate. There could be no doubt that this was one of the most

important duties of the Society. But he could not associate himself with the other view, that they should denounce delinquents. He thought that might be left in the hands of others. It was their duty to look upon the course of events straightly and dispassionately on all sides, rather than to sit in judgment upon the acts of politicians or generals who were not there to answer for themselves. That, at least, was his personal opinion as Chairman of the Society.

The lecturer had alluded very prominently to the constant changes in the political situation; and he could conceive of nothing more tragic than the contrast between what was expected of Russia three years ago, when she was sacrificing hundreds of thousands of lives on the Eastern front in order to protect us on the West, and what was happening to-day. There was no doubt that their action in the early months of the war had a very great deal to do with our success in staving off invasion at the time when it seemed most possible. Russia, in those days, was to be the steam-roller to crush its way to Berlin. To-day Russia found herself in a pathetically feeble state. We all hoped, however, that things would turn out better, and that we might in a few months again look to Russia for assistance. Meanwhile we ought to be grateful that America had come to our aid, and to be resolved to contribute to the national determination to continue the good fight. Another contrast was supplied by the public attitude toward the Prime Minister. A few years ago he for one looked upon Mr. Lloyd George as an enemy of the British nation; to-day most of us looked upon him, if not as the saviour of our country, certainly as one statesman in whom we all had the most implicit confidence.

The lecturer had alluded to the possibility of our exercising a Protectorate over Syria and Mesopotamia. The remarks in the paper thereon reminded him of the old recipe for making hare soup: "First catch your hare." It was true we had conquered a portion of Palestine and the greater part of Mesopotamia; but on the other hand we had to remember that the enemy had taken possession of nearly all Belgium, a big slice of France, Poland, Serbia, and Montenegro. We fully intended that they should not stay in any of these quarters; but he had no doubt that the foe argued in the same way as to our acquisitions in the Middle East. Nor was the question of Palestine so simple and plain as it might look. The French had had their eye on Palestine and Syria ever since the days of St. Louis, and they would like to have a say in the matter. Then, again, the long-cherished aim of the Jews to recover the Holy Land had to be considered. The fact was that the question was very complicated, and until the war had made further progress it seemed premature to discuss what was to be the fate of the various countries held by conquest.

Sir EDWIN PEARS said he had listened to the lecture with very great pleasure, and on many points had to bow to the superior know-

ledge of Colonel Yate. But on one subject he did profess to know something. He had lived for upwards of forty years in Constantinople, and had closely followed the discussions as to the future of that city. When it was announced in the Duma a year ago that an agreement existed between the Allies under which Constantinople, under certain conditions, was to be handed over to Russia, he for one did not believe it. At the time he was in Washington lecturing, and before a very large audience explained why he did not believe it. He agreed with Lord Bryce, who looked at all these questions with the fullest detachment and impartiality that was possible for an Englishman, that no great Power ought to have Constantinople. When the announcement was made the Revolution in Russia and the subsequent *débâcle* had not taken place. But he stated in Washington that in the interests of Russia herself he was strongly opposed to her possession of Constantinople. In the last forty years Russia more than any other Power, more than ourselves and the French, had liberated the peoples of the Balkan States from Turkish rule. The combined fleets of the three nations gave freedom to Greece at the close of the last century, and later on Bulgaria secured her freedom at the hands of Russia. There had been no movement for setting free the peoples of the Balkans in which we had not taken part; but throughout those countries Russia had all along been regarded, and he believed was still regarded, as the deliverer. Before the war there was hardly a cottage in Bulgaria or in Greece in which the portrait of the Czar as the great deliverer did not exist. Bulgaria went wrong after the outbreak of war because she was led away by her Austrian King Ferdinand, who was acting as the mouthpiece of the aged Emperor of Austria, who again had the strings of his policy pulled by the Kaiser. If Russia possessed Constantinople she could only have access thereto by sea, a distance of 300 to 350 miles; the Black Sea was so stormy that no navigator would cheerfully transport an army across it. The only other way of access would be to march an army through Rumania, through Bulgaria, and through whatever State might have possession of the Thracian peninsula. If Russia was going to do that, and still more if she was going to do what had been suggested—namely, make a railway corridor through those States for passing to and from Constantinople—she was going to alienate those States for ever. But he went further. There was not a State in the Balkans, with the possible exception of Montenegro, which had not aspirations for the succession to Constantinople when vacant. It was known that ex-King Tino had strong ambitions to be the successor to the Byzantine Empire, and put forward the prophecy current in the Balkans for more than three centuries that the successor to the last Byzantine Emperor, who met his heroic death in 1453, would be a Constantine married to a Sophia. As to Bulgaria, King Ferdinand

was said to be fond of arraying himself in a suit of clothes made in imitation of pictures which existed representing the later Byzantine Emperors. Whether this was or was not true, it was undoubtedly the ambition of Bulgaria for many reasons to secure the succession to Constantinople. He was sure that Russia, when she regained her sense, would not wish to make an enemy of the peoples in the Balkans she had helped to reinstate and regenerate, and therefore the wisest Russians would be opposed to the acquisition of Constantinople. He once had the pleasure of discussing this matter fully with M. Miliukoff, to whom reference had been made, and who was the leader of the Moderate party in Russia. Some time ago he (Sir Edwin) put forward detailed proposals for making Constantinople and a considerable enclave an international city in charge of a Commission formed on the model of the Commission of which their Chairman was a successful member, which for sixty years controlled the navigation of the Lower Danube. It should have a certain number of trained men for police purposes, but no army, and there should be no fortifications in the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus. Through the Danube, the most important river in Europe, would then flow a large trade from Western Europe. They would recall that in his history of the Crimean War, Kinglake showed that the real underlying purpose of the conflict was to see whether or not the navigation of the Danube was to be free, or was to be left as Russia desired in her sole charge. M. Miliukoff told him that he agreed with this proposal, unless as an alternative Constantinople was left in the hands of a weak Power. He said that if it were left in the hands of Turkey, given secure guarantees, this would not trouble him; but their purpose would best be answered by giving the city an international status. The Russian statesman said that his country did not want the city.

Referring to the recent British declaration as to the replacement of the Jews in Palestine, Sir Edwin said he was not a Jew, but knew Palestine fairly well and sympathized with the desire of the Jews to get there. If the ancient race went back to their Promised Land, it would of course be under a constitution under which the rights of Christians and Moslems would be securely preserved. He held in honour and high respect the enlightened Jews of England, America, France, and even Germany. In Palestine they might present to the world a model of good government which would practically constitute a bond between us in the West and the Arab State which would be formed, and indeed was already being formed to the east of the Jordan. So far as Jerusalem was concerned he thought all was well. But speaking humbly as a civilian and not a soldier, he must confess he was not sure of the desirability of occupying Jerusalem. He had been in the caves under the city, and he had a suspicion that in those caves it would not require a large amount of explosive material to

blow the whole place with all its sacred monuments into the middle of the next century. If we surrounded Jerusalem without entering it in his opinion this would be a wise measure. With respect to Mesopotamia, he hoped for the sake of England and the Empire that we should retain possession, provided, as he was sure would be the case, the people of the country desired it. He agreed with the extremely eloquent paper Canon James Barry contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* a few months ago, in which he said that when we got the right orientation of our politics in England we should consider the capital of the British Empire to be in Egypt. If our people would so regard Egypt it would show that we had moved away from the narrow-mindedness which, happily, did not exist amongst men who had travelled widely, like the Chairman and the lecturer. Those of them who had observed affairs in the Near East knew that for many years Turkey had not been playing the game, and that in the interests of England her interference could no longer be tolerated.

The CHAIRMAN said that thirty years ago when he was in the Balkans both the Greeks and the Bulgarians confidently aspired to the reversion of Constantinople. He was for twelve years a member of the Danube International Commission to which Sir Edwin Pears had referred, and he had some knowledge of the great difficulties which arose from such forms of internationalization. He recollected that they formed a little party of eight members, and that he with the French and Russian representatives anticipated an ultimate division of Europe very much on the lines of that which they had seen in the last few years. They foresaw an alliance between their three countries, and generally worked in unison. With regard to Syria one suggestion, of which no mention had been made that evening, was that it should form part of the Egyptian kingdom. This would be nothing new, because in ancient days Syria often did belong to Egypt, and sometimes Egypt belonged to Syria. This might be a possible solution of a problem which they must keep in mind, though discussion at present was premature.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by Sir H. E. M. James, closed the proceedings.

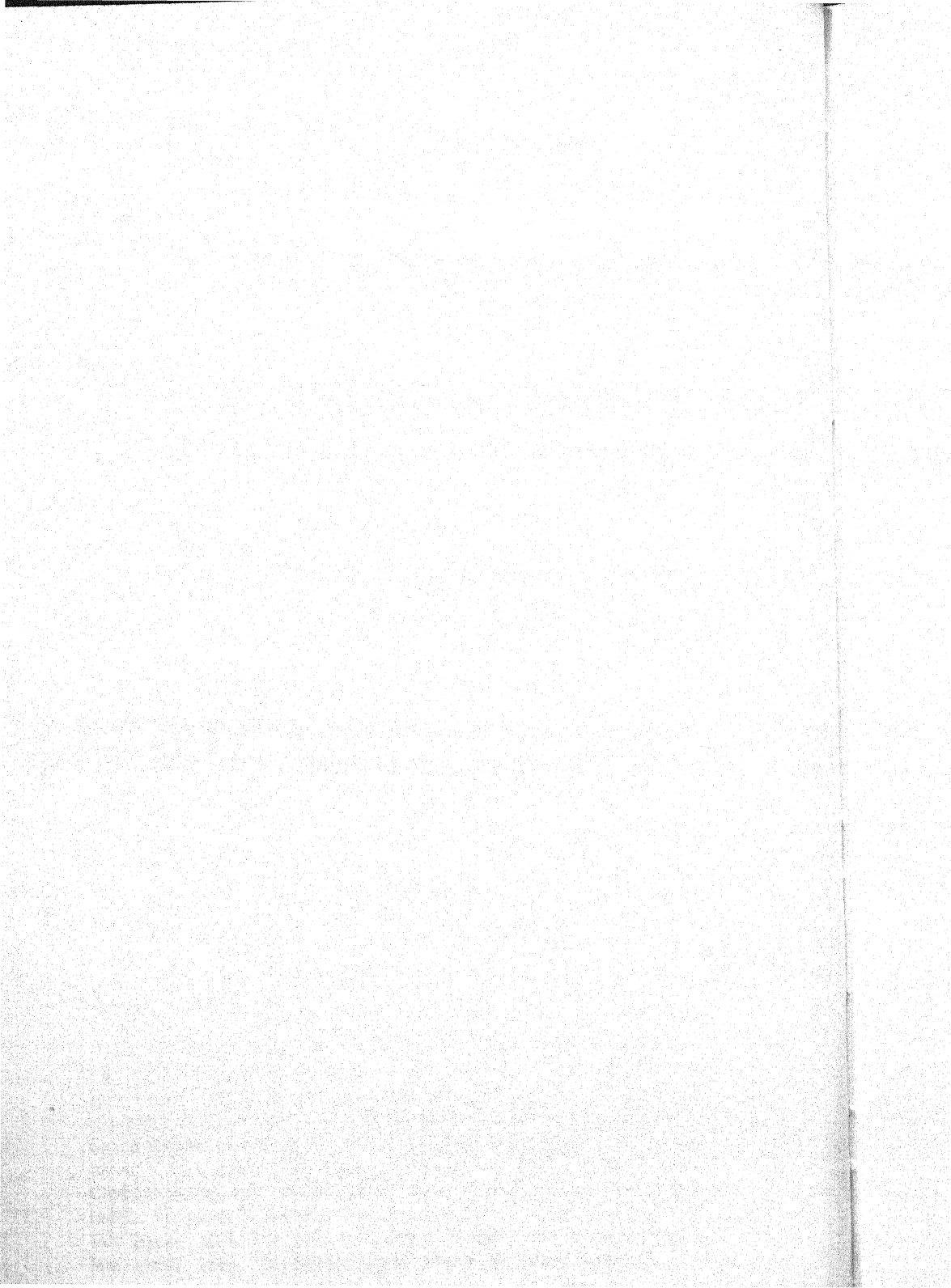
P.S.—Since this lecture was delivered I have read the article in *The Round Table* for December, 1917, entitled "Turkey, Russia, and Islam." If the Pan-Turanian movement materializes, it promises to set the Buffer-State system in the Middle East upon a new basis. Space forbids detail here. Mr. Lloyd George's statement of the Allies' "War Aims," as made on January 5, 1918, to the Labour Conference, as well as the trend of the Pan-Turanian movement, seems, however, to confirm the contention with which I commenced this paper, that the pivot of India's Buffer-State system has of late years been transferred from Herāt to Constantinople. A

Stamboul still Turkish and a neutralized Bosphorus and Dardanelles mean that the "B.B.B." (Berlin-Byzance-Baghdad Railway) will still go forward, though, possibly, under international control. The most striking point, perhaps, in this evolution of the unexpected is that, after all, the Russian claim, long put forward, to mould the destinies of the twentieth century seems not unlikely, under the revolutionary propaganda of the hour, to be realized. At the present moment the statesmen of none of the great Powers venture to impugn the policy which Russian Democratic Socialism seeks to impose upon Europe and the civilized nations of the world. The "Pan-Turanian Movement" is now being further considered in *The Times*, obviously by the *Round Table* writer, in a series of studies entitled "The Turk Militant." Vide *Times* of January 3, 5 and 7, 1918. The Bagdad-Bokhara-China extension of the "B.B.B." has already been adumbrated in one or two previous letters which have appeared in *The Times*. One in particular, obviously written by someone familiar with modern German schemes and medieval Asian trade-routes, appeared in 1916, if not earlier, and named the "Old Silk Road" as the line of the railway by which Berlin hoped to establish connection with the Far East.

A. C. Y.

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*C O N T E N T S.*

PALESTINE: ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

By Miss ESTELLE BLYTH.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COSSACK COMMUNITIES.

By M. A. CZAPLICKA.

LIST OF MEMBERS AND RULES.

## PALESTINE : ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

THE CHAIRMAN said that the lecturer that evening, on a most interesting subject, was Miss Estelle Blyth, who was a daughter of the late Bishop of Jerusalem, and had lived in that city the greater part of her life. There could hardly be anyone more competent than she to give them an instructive lecture on Palestine.

Miss Blyth then read the following paper on "Palestine : its Past, Present, and Future :"

The future of Palestine and Syria is a problem that comes up for consideration from time to time, and, indeed, can never rest until these much-tried and deeply wronged countries are freed from Turkish rule. This great deliverance now seems to be at hand, and in view of it the future of Palestine assumes a definite place in our thoughts as being very urgently and very particularly one of England's responsibilities.

We shall start from a clearer standpoint if we consider Palestine and Syria as being quite distinct from one another. They are so, but because they are next-door neighbours, and have been under the same rule, they are always spoken of together and counted as one. The Turkish Empire has been for so long in a tottering condition that any interference with one part of it might well have caused the whole crazy structure to collapse—an undesirable complication from the European point of view. For the purposes of our argument we will separate Palestine and Syria as completely as if such division did indeed exist.

The history and influence of a land are so largely determined by its geographical position and peculiarities that there can be no real discussion of Palestine, either past, present, or future, without due consideration of its physical features, characteristics, and relationships.

GEOGRAPHY.—Briefly, then, it is a small, narrow strip of land running along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, dividing the sea from the desert. Presenting within its narrow confines geographical features as varied and distinct as are the events of its history, and containing the dearest shrines of the Christian and the Jew, Palestine arises from the abasement of her present weakness, a land unlike any other, remaining mysterious, aloof, remote. Geographically

it is an insignificant item on the globe ; a highway along which successive generations of races, wars, conquests, changes, and governments have passed, raising clouds of dust and leaving many footprints, but not altering the character of the road at all. These all pass, but the road remains. Palestine stretches from the mouth of the Litany River ( $32^{\circ} 20' N.$ ) south to where the Wadi Ghuzzi joins the sea south of Gaza ( $32^{\circ} 28' N.$ ), and, running south-east, includes Beersheba. The configuration of the land is thus exactly what Isaiah describes it : "A highway out of Egypt to Assyria." Within these accepted limits Palestine is less than one-seventh of the size of Great Britain.

MOUNTAINS.—"It is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven," said Moses. The chain of Lebanon runs north and south, Lebanon being divided from Anti-Lebanon by a narrow valley. Lebanon belongs to Syria, rather than to Palestine, but from this great range—the pride of which is so apparent in the Bible, while the people of the land still call it "El Jebel," or The Mountain—the four big rivers take their course. Mount Hermon is perhaps chief of the peaks in historical interest ; it is 9,200 feet in height ; its "lofty triple summits" are nearly always under snow, and on clear days the view of its majestic heights from the foot of Carmel, looking across the Bay of Acca, is indeed a glorious one. Dahr-el-Khotib, to the north of Hermon, is actually higher by some 1,300 feet. Sir George Adam Smith, in his wonderful book "The Historical Geography of Palestine," very clearly defines the contour of Palestine, giving three great mountain ranges—the Western, the Central, and the Eastern—whose bold sections and bisections divide the land into "a series of four parallel lines or bands running north and south," and form a barrier to the desert, thus :

Sea	Maritime Plain	Central Range	Jordan Valley	Eastern Range	Desert
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The Central Range is the "Mount of the Amorites" of the Book of Deuteronomy. South of Hermon is a high plateau intersected by a deep ravine running north and south, which forms the bed of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The Mountains of Moab, of Judea, of Galilee, though interesting from a Biblical and historical point of view, need not be touched upon separately, being practically offshoots of the big ranges, as Carmel, with its bold head thrust outward to the sea, is a continuation of the chain of Lebanon. Still, there must rise to our minds names dear to us from childhood—Tabor, the traditional Mount of the Transfiguration, with its steep sides covered with brushwood and trees, and its curiously flat top ; Olivet, one of the hills that "stand about Jerusalem" ; Ebal and Gerizim, overshadowing Nablous (Shechem), both alike beautiful, though so different in character, the blessings and curses uttered from whose summits could plainly be heard by Israel trembling in the valley below.

**RIVERS.**—From the cedar-covered slopes of Lebanon four rivers take their way. The Litany runs west; the Barada (the Abana of the Bible) east, enriching Damascus on its way; the Jordan, rising in Hermon, flows south to its end in the Dead Sea; and the Orontes, rising in the upper valley between the two chains of Lebanon, flows north to Antioch, then, turning west, seeks the Mediterranean. The Jordan Valley, aptly named by the Arabs "El Ghor," or the Depression, is 1,290 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; the soil has been famous from the earliest times for its extreme richness and fertility. Varying from 90 to 100 feet in width, the swift brown river runs onward with many dangerous currents, the depth being from 3 to 12 feet. Such is the intense heat of the Jordan Valley that the ground cracks in the summer, and the natives move their tents into the hills; the thermometer will register as much as 118°. Hence, despite its richness, the absence of life and movement in the Valley; the ordinary work of town and village is impossible in such heat, and Jericho to-day is but a small mud village. In the tangled scrub and undergrowth along the river-side wild boars flourish, and leopards and a species of wolf are found, but rarely. Only two out of the four rivers find an outlet, the Orontes and the Litany; the Jordan dies in the Dead Sea, and the Barada, perhaps the most beautiful and fertilizing of the four, in the desert.

**LAKES.**—Palestine has three lakes, all famous. Lake Huleh, the "Waters of Merom," lies to the south of Lebanon, where the valley begins to sink downwards; in the swamps around its margin grow thick jungles of papyrus-reed. The Lake of Galilee, nearly thirteen miles long and eight miles across at its greatest breadth, is one of the most beautiful of all the sights of Palestine. Deep blue in colour, with clear fresh waters full of fish, its appearance is so instinct with life and beauty that it is hard to associate with it the treachery of the violent and dangerous storms which mar it to-day, as long ago when Christ's word stilled the waters into peace. "Jehovah hath created seven seas," said the Rabbis, "but the Sea of Gennesaret is His delight." The Dead Sea lies nearly 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; its bitter waters wash an arid shore on which no vegetable life is seen. It is the picture of a terrible desolation, of a land under the curse.

**CLIMATE.**—Palestine lies in the subtropical zone. The extraordinary differences in altitude and surface characteristics (it varies from 1,300 feet below the sea-level to 9,000 feet above it) must widely affect the climatic conditions and the characteristics of the inhabitants. The average summer temperature is from 80° to 90°, occasionally rising to 100°. The heat is never unbearable except in the Jordan Valley, for the stone houses, with their thick walls, are well adapted to keep it out. The rainfall is from 28 inches to 32 inches; winter has even brought 12° of frost, and snow falls, but not every year. In Eastern

Palestine, I believe, the differences in temperature are even greater, the upper heights being covered with snow. The rainy season, roughly speaking, lasts from the end of November to the end of February; "the former rains" begin at the end of October, and the "the latter rains" fall in March and April. January is cold and stormy; May and October are the sirocco months, to be avoided by newcomers and travellers. In August, with the rising of the Nile, heavy dews begin to fall, refreshing the land when it is weary. Barley and wheat are sown in December, and reaped from April to June: millet, sesame, figs, grapes, melons, etc., from August to October. The chief grain fields are the plain between Lebanon and the Hauran in Syria, and, for Palestine, the Plains of Esdraelon and Sharon, districts around Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, and, of course, the rich lands east of Jordan. The winds of Palestine are often referred to in the Bible. The south and west are refreshing winds, the north wind is a storm-bearer. The east wind, the sirocco (for the natives use the Italian word derived in the first place from their own "sharkiyeh," eastern), is a malicious wind, piercingly cold in winter, and dry and heavy in the summer. The heat of Palestine is largely sun-heat; on the hottest day (not sirocco) there will be a touch of chill in the shade; and at sunset a treacherous coolness sets in, leading to fever if due care is not taken. At sunrise lovely little silver mists rise upward from the earth, like incense at the sacrament of dawn.

**SPRINGS.**—There are many springs in Palestine, and these, with the gracious dews, partly atone for the lack of rain. The hot springs at Tiberius (temperature 140° F.) are still frequented as a cure, as in days of Herod. Hot sulphur springs are also found west of the Dead Sea. Drinking-water is stored in rock-hewn cisterns, with which, both ancient and modern, the land is strewn; when these run dry at the end of a long summer following upon a poor rainy season, fever and sickness crop up everywhere. In spite of this, nothing would induce the Turkish Government to tackle seriously the question of a water supply, by no means an impossible one, nor would it allow anyone else to do so. Water and fuel are the two chief problems of life in Palestine. We discuss every fraction of the rainfall with all the earnestness it deserves, for on it, indeed, depend both health and food for the coming year; and the disastrous taxation on trees under Turkish rule, and their wholesale destruction, either for firewood or to escape the tax, have sensibly lessened the rainfall. The scarcity of wood, the difficulty of bringing it from long distances in a country where roads are few and generally bad, and the rise in prices consequent on these hard conditions, made this one of the gravest anxieties for the future just before the war: though Cardiff coal was obtainable latterly, it cost 80 francs a ton, or £3 5s. All these things, taken in conjunction with a population rapidly increasing through



immigration, for which no provision was made by the Government, made the question of one's daily bread an anxious one. The situation must be even graver now, for trees have been cut down recklessly during the past three years, and olive-wood has actually been used on the railway to supplement the scarcity of coal.

FLORA.—Despite the dead hand of Turkey upon her, the fertility of Palestine is as amazing as it is great. Everything grows out in the open and, as it seems to us, under conditions that ought to prevent any self-respecting vegetable life from attaining maturity. The land, after yielding one crop, will be scratched up (for the primitive native plough does little more than disturb the surface), and planted again almost immediately; on the hillsides, which look so stony and unpromising, every little patch of soil amongst the rocks will be sown or planted, and with excellent results. Palestinian vegetables would demoralize an English market; we have cauliflowers that measure at least a foot across, and water-melons hardly to be spanned by a man's arms: to this day the grapes of Eshcol grow in clusters from 3 to 4 feet in length. We have in their seasons grapes, apricots, nectarines, plums, damsons, quince, mulberries, figs, lemons, oranges, prickly pear, pomegranates, bananas, and many kinds of nuts; a rotli of grapes (6 pounds) costs about tenpence (old residents consider the price excessive), and for a trifling present you may go into a vineyard and eat as many grapes and figs as you can manage.

And what of the flowers? From the semi-tropical vegetation of the Jordan Valley to the English flowers cherished in gardens, practically everything seems to flourish. The wild flowers in spring are glorious beyond all telling, especially, perhaps, in Galilee, where they have been less interfered with. We have anemones, scarlet, white, mauve, and pink (many people believe that they are the "lilies of the field" before whose glory that of Solomon paled), hyacinths, ranunculus, narcissus, honeysuckle, daises, buttercups, cistus, cyclamen, irises, black arums, broom, mandrake, oleander (rose and white), thrift, hyssop, orchises, asphodel, acanthus, vetches of many kinds, unscented violets, roses, speedwell—all these, and many more whose names elude me now, grow wild in Palestine with a profusion that no words can describe. Besides these, which we may term native to the land, most English flowers flourish in gardens with a little care: cowslips, daffodils, primroses, sweet-peas, pansies (we had some that shot up 9 inches in height), violets of all kinds, tuberose, chrysanthemums, asters, jasmine, heliotrope (this grew like a tree, at least 10 feet in height), begonias, geraniums, carnations, hollyhocks, pelargoniums, white arums, roses, syringa—the list becomes unduly long, but it is not complete. When you have lived in Palestine, and marked its lavish beauty and fertility under the most harrowing ill-treatment as well as neglect, you realize that such expressions as "the glory of Lebanon," "the excellency of



Carmel and Sharon," and "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose," are no lovely fancy of the poet, no delusion of the overfervid patriot, but the sober literal truth. Palestine is still a land of corn and wine. We see the surface richness of her, but what of the treasures hidden within, "the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the lasting hills"? Moses assured the Israelites that it was "a good land." "Thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." But who has looked for it? The Turkish Government, by its unscrupulous taxation, put an effectual stop to anything like private enterprise, and (to give one instance only) when, some four years ago, a Syrian found that his little plot of ground yielded oil of an excellent quality, he carefully concealed his find, knowing well what would happen if the Government got wind of it.

**FAUNA.**—The lions of Bible days are extinct now, but cheetahs, leopards, wolves (though rarely), hyenas, jackals, foxes, gazelles, and wild cats are found, and bears in the Lebanon. Sheep, goats, and cows are plentiful, but small and lean; the beasts of burden are donkeys, mules, horses, and camels. The horses, though small and slender, are extraordinarily game, and work to the very end until they drop. When a camel falls, and has to be killed, the fellahin eat the flesh and consider it a great luxury. Venomous snakes are not very numerous; lizards of many kinds, large and small, chameleons, mantises, locusts (still eaten by the Bedouin), scorpions, centipedes, tarantulas, all abound. One year a particularly rich harvest in the Plain of Sharon was eaten by an army of rats before it could be reaped, and the terror of the people in face of this plague was intense. A plague of locusts is another terrible visitation; the air is darkened by myriads of them in flight, and where they fall not a blade or leaf survives. Amongst birds, owls, partridge, quail, hoopoes, jays, swallows, thrushes, finches, and sparrows are more or less common. Large flocks of storks pass through on their way south, and I remember once a flight of flamingoes, a lovely sight; cuckoos are occasional, but not common.

**HISTORY.**—We said at the beginning that the history of a country was largely determined by its geographical conditions. The history of Palestine bears out this statement in a very definite way. It is a somewhat tangled narrative of changes and conquests, the early records being vague and unsatisfactory in the main, though certain periods and facts stand out with distinctness against the shifting background of uncertainties.

Excavations in Palestine have revealed traces of prehistoric dwellers in caves and huts whose implements were fashioned from bone. The skulls and bones of these people are akin in some instances to the modern natives of Palestine. A land of many tribes and petty kingdoms, with their perpetual wars and ineffective treaties, each one

striving to get the upper hand by guile if not by force, it is difficult to form a distinct historical idea of it from the confusion of battle ever waging amongst these tribes; and when out of the vagueness of these shifting periods arise the Hyksos, the invaders of Egypt (1700 B.C.), they present a greater definiteness of outline which we welcome. The hand of Egypt lay heavy on Palestine for many long years, some of the Kings of the land even being appointed by Pharaoh, to whose power they appealed for help, vindication, or protection in their constant internecine wars. Seti I. (1320 B.C.) led an expedition into Palestine; but the power of the Hittites (from Northern Syria and Mesopotamia) was gradually building itself up in the land, and Rameses II. (1300 B.C.) by a treaty with them renounced almost all the Egyptian holding in Palestine. Egyptian supremacy revived under Rameses III. (1200-1169 B.C.), but fifty years later the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser swept away in their rapid encroachment the landmarks of the Egyptian and the Hittite suzerainty. Those periods which are immediately concerned with the Bible possess, of course, the chief interest for us. Palestine, divided into a series of small kingdoms ever at variance with each other, was in a state which rendered it peculiarly open to foreign access and conquest; and amongst these petty tribal kingdoms the Hebrew invaders out of Egypt made a firm place for themselves, aided, no doubt, by that learning of the Egyptians which they brought with them in the formation of an ordered communal life. They took deep root and spread abroad, and in the interval between their entry under Joshua and the day of the Messiah Whom they rejected, theirs was the history of the land. It is strange that, with a mass of tradition and the work of scribes, the political records of the Jewish Monarchy are yet so slight. Taking the books of the Old Testament which are concerned with those years merely as historical records of the kingdoms, we are struck by the prominence given to the personal character and life of the King, and by the correspondingly scanty attention paid to the country and its foreign policy and relations. We are told, for instance, of Solomon's wisdom and of the fleet that gathered riches from all lands, but we are given no details of his policy, home or foreign, which seems to have been governed largely by a commercial spirit. Thus the records of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are chiefly the records of the life and deeds, good or bad, of each king and the never-ending struggle between the hierarchy and the monarch. The kingdoms, which lasted, roughly, from 1075 B.C. to 597 B.C., drew to their dishonoured close: the kings went into exile and the people were dispersed, never again to be gathered in one. "Other lords have had rule over us," was the bitter lament of the prophet. The people, who had rejected every chance over and over again, were left to struggle as they might against the overwhelming pressure of outside forces.

For as the might of Israel, religious and political, waned, other influences had strengthened in Palestine—Babylonian, Chaldean, Assyrian. The growing predominance of the latter power swept Palestine through a series of mighty changes during a period of some 300 years. Warfare decimated the population, and the conquerors brought in their own countrymen to fill the empty places. The social, religious, and national life of the Jews was broken up, an exhausted people lay at the foot of an iron conqueror, and during the period of acquiescence that followed on submission the Jews absorbed the invaders after a fashion peculiarly Jewish. The kingdom of Israel came to an end about 722 B.C., whilst that of Judah lasted some 130 years longer. A number of Jews returned to Palestine some fifty years after the Great Dispersion, under the favour of Cyrus, though they “came back, not to a kingdom, but to a *medineh* or district (and city) of the Persian Empire.” (G. A. Smith, “Jerusalem,” vol. i., p. 380.) Palestine was practically a Persian province until the overthrow of the Empire by Alexander the Great (333 B.C.). After his death the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Selucidæ in Northern Syria contended for the possession of Palestine, and a time of great misery followed for the Jews, culminating in the plunder of the Temple by Antiochus IV. His cruel persecution goaded the Jews into rising, and the priestly family of the Asmonean Mattathias led the revolt, which for a time was successful. Judas Maccabæus, the son of Mattathias, founded the Asmonean Dynasty, which lasted until 34 B.C., when Herod the Great, an Idumean, or Edomite, by nationality, and Roman Prefect of Syria, murdered Antigonus, and made himself King of the Jews. Under his rule Palestine enjoyed some prosperity, and ruins of his magnificent buildings yet enrich the land; but with the death of his son Archelaus (A.D. 6), Palestine became a dependency of Rome.

The New Testament story embraces much of that of the Roman occupation of Palestine. The Roman influence was very strong, and traces of it remain to-day in the wonderful ruins of walls, aqueducts, roads, baths, temples, amphitheatres, etc., and in names of places. The Gospels are stamped with the image and superscription of Cæsar’s supremacy: Roman laws, money, institutions, customs, officials, appear all through the New Testament narrative. Before the stern onward sweep of the Roman Eagles, Greek influences, once also strong, paled and dwindled. We may trace the struggle between these two chief powers of the West in the Books of the Maccabees and of Josephus. Probably the Jews suffered more under their Roman masters than under any other foreign conqueror. Fire, sword, and persecution reduced the people to utter misery and despair, which their occasional maddened revolts only served to make more poignant. From this abyss of suffering the more beneficent rule of Constantine the Great and the establishment of the Christian faith in some degree relieved

them—though the Christianity of that day was not too kind in practice. Palestine remained a Roman province from the day when Pompey added her to the Imperial crown (A.D. 65), until the Arab Conquest in 634.

Since 634, when the Arabs swept through Palestine and took her, she has been a Moslem country. Some four hundred years later began the period of oppression of Christians, which led to the Crusades—those vain, romantic, fascinating episodes in history whose glamour affects us even now. The First Crusade (A.D. 1096) was born of the impassioned preaching of a monk of Amiens, Peter the Hermit, who had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was half crazed by what he saw, and also shared, of the sufferings of the Christians in the Holy City. To him the aged Patriarch of Jerusalem appealed with tears: "Behold how we Christians suffer at the Tomb of Christ for our faithfulness to Him! Behold how that sacred Tomb itself is in the hands of infidels, who mock its sanctity and our pains! Do our Christian brethren in Europe care for none of these things?" To Peter also, praying and fasting and mourning over these things, there came strange visions, and voices that urged him to champion this cause; and so, taking his way home, he preached throughout Europe the woes of Jerusalem and the shame of the Holy Sepulchre. The Pope blessed his mission; princes, knights, and commoners took fire at his tale; words and deeds ran hand in hand; and when Godfrey de Bouillon—warrior, statesman, knight, and hero—espoused the cause, the thing was done. An organized army, under the leadership of Godfrey, aided by the first knights in Europe, was to start for Palestine in the spring of 1096; and during all the winter months Europe rang with the clang of arms and the din of preparation.

Surely no stranger army ever set forth. Men of all tongues and nationalities formed it, who were unable even to speak to each other, split up into factions by international jealousies and quarrels, yet bound together in some strange way in the bond of a common cause—the freeing of the Sepulchre of Christ. By day these men marched, and toiled, and fought with strong opposing forces, and by night they slept on the alert, never putting off their arms, while at set hours heralds passed down the sleeping lines, and cried aloud, "Remember the Holy Sepulchre! Remember the Holy Sepulchre!" And at the cry those grim, fierce warriors awoke from sleep to cross themselves and pray that it might be theirs to free that Sepulchre from the infidel. Many hardships, obstacles, and perils had to be encountered and overcome by the way; yet each in turn was met and overcome, and at last one hot June day in the year 1099 Tancred of Sicily, called the Perfect Knight, with the vanguard of the Crusading army, climbed the Mount of Olives, and from there beheld the City of their desires in all her matchless charm and beauty, and, beholding, they fell upon their knees

and wept. Three years had been passed upon the road; forty days later Jerusalem fell before the fierce siege of the Crusading host. In rushed the conquerors, fighting down the narrow streets, slaying without discrimination, mad for the time being with the lust of fighting and of purpose accomplished. The Crusaders' horses trod over the fetlocks in blood, and the steep paved streets ran with it. Godfrey, perhaps unable, perhaps unwilling, to stem the fury of his men, made his way to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with a few like-minded companions, and knelt there absorbed in prayer while the grim work of death went on outside. By-and-by others slipped in, too, and with night the horrid work of slaughter ceased; but it was resumed the next day and for seven days more, until not an "infidel" was left. Jerusalem was now a city of the Christians, in Christian hands.

With comparative ease and quickness the land fell under the Crusaders' rule, and the Christian kingdom was set up, during the eighty-nine years of whose duration Palestine was governed absolutely on the lines of mediæval Europe. Read the chronicles of the day, read that strange book "*The Assizes of Jerusalem*," and see with what burning zeal and energy the Crusaders set their stamp and seal on Palestine. Godfrey hung up his crown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, refusing to wear a crown of gold where his Lord had worn the crown of thorns; but after him there came Kings who were weak or selfish, or both, from whose inert hands the sceptre of Christian Jerusalem at last fell in dishonour to the dust. The shameful quibble that a Christian need not keep faith with an "infidel" was indirectly the means of their downfall, and it led very naturally to their not keeping faith with each other, and even to treating secretly with the enemy against each other. When Saladin, the righteous-minded and upright, arose like a sword of flame, there was no longer faith, trust, honour, or courage in the Christian kingdom to oppose to his onset. Rotten to the core, even so soon, the kingdom fell by its own hand, slain by the treachery and selfishness of the rulers who should have been its bulwarks. The Christian power, broken utterly at the Battle of Hattin, in July, 1187, was never again raised to rule in Palestine. And yet it is amazing what a deep impress the Latin Kingdom has left upon the land—in words scattered throughout the language, in buildings whose majestic ruins still attest the skill and energy of the makers, in the signs of Western blood traceable to-day in the natives. Passing through Palestine to-day, vivid memories of the Crusading kingdom accompany the traveller, fascinating and enthralling him by their romantic glow. Perhaps the strange force of the Crusaders' short tenure of Palestine lies in the fact of their "coming to her, not, like most other invaders, because she was the road to somewhere else, but because she was herself, in their eyes, the goal of all roads, the central and most blessed province of the world" (George



Adam Smith, "Historical Geography," p. 13). The incense of their devotion, so freely offered, despite all faults, lingers yet in Palestine, enriching her history beyond all price, drawing East and West together by a common love, and absolving the memory of men—fierce, ruthless, unstable as they were—who bore the cross-handled sword through the land. Eight Crusades at later periods strove to recover the land, but in vain; and in 1517 Palestine fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks under Selim I. The invasion of Palestine by Napoleon lacks the shining impress of the Crusaders' devotion and enthusiasm, and appears to us in more sordid guise, though, of course, the heroic defence of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, from March to May, 1799, must ever be a proud memory for Englishmen. "Had I but captured Acre," said Napoleon, years later at St. Helena, "I would have reached Constantinople and the Indies—I would have changed the face of the world! But *that* man made me miss my destiny!"

FUTURE.—What is to be the future of Palestine? If her past is any guide to us in our attempt to solve the riddle of the future, we may well come to the conclusion that she can never belong to any one race or people after the absolute fashion of other lands. She is a road, a highway; she can be policed, controlled, kept safe and open, made beautiful and pleasant, but she cannot become the absolute property of any one nation. She has been held longest in point of time by Turkey, whose people are the most mixed and least national of all races; but Turkey has been such a weak, unstable Power latterly that it has held Palestine more or less under the will and by the grace of Europe. And Turkey, who by its cruel taxation, its insincerity, its injustice and cynical oppression, its utter faithlessness to trust, has all but ruined the country, has driven abroad the best of her youth, and broken the spirit of those who could not escape—Turkey's fetters on the land were broken for ever, we trust, on that glad day when Jerusalem surrendered to the British. The question is too wide and too wonderful in its illimitable hopefulness for us to do more than touch on points here and there; but it is a very important one, and we cannot keep our thoughts from dwelling on it in these days of great and terrible changes. For Palestine is no lonely little island lost in the midst of a great sea, whose possession is of small moment to anyone; her position on the map makes her as real and vital a factor in the world's history now as she has ever been. The Russian pilgrims ardently believe that in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is the actual centre of the world, and it is certain that in Palestine, which contains the dearest shrines of the Christian and the Jew, and to the Moslem is almost equally sacred, are centred some of the chief and most urgent problems of the world. There is nothing more alluring and less fruitful than speculation on political problems, and as such speculation can never be entirely free from controversial bitterness, perhaps we shall do better

to dwell rather on points whereon all nations and all creeds are at one. And we are all one in our love of Palestine, our reverence for her sacred past, our firm belief in her sure and glorious future. We have all mourned over her abasement and her misery under Turkish misrule; we all desire most passionately that she shall now be raised to her rightful place in a cleansed and liberated world. How can this great end best be attained?

In speaking of the coming restoration of Palestine we may not overlook the dream of the Zionists for a place therein. English sympathies are very quickly stirred by the cry of a people for freedom. England, who has suffered so much in her fight for liberty, not only for herself, but for the little nations that have turned to her for help time and again—England understands the longing of a wandering race to have at last a home. Every Jew and every Zionist can now, if he will, have a home, and freedom, and utmost liberty of body and of soul, in a Palestine that is under the guardianship of Great Britain.

But a great deal has already been done by the Jewish race towards colonizing Palestine. The Jewish efforts were not always successful, and it was not until the immigration of the petty trader had given place to the agricultural immigrant that a solid foundation was laid in Palestine as a home for the Jewish race—this, be it understood, as distinct from the traditional and religious side of the question. The British forces have already freed several great Jewish centres—Jaffa, where the orange-gardens are world renowned; Richon-le-Zion, whose wine already bids fair to capture a European market; Mulebbis, and many others. Between forty and fifty settlements were scattered throughout the country in 1914, "back to the land" being the policy of the Jewish associations responsible for the development of immigration. The only rivals to the Jews in Palestine as colonizing agents have been the Germans. Their undoubted influence with the Turks has enabled them to claim many fine tracts of arable land—Haifa, Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Saron are a few of the many. Happily, this dangerous growth will now be checked, allowing a larger scope to the Jewish nationalist.

Every signpost seems to point to the one end, every argument to lead to the one conclusion—namely, that Palestine, which is now being freed by the outpouring of English blood and by the ungrudging sacrifice of splendid English lives, shall remain under England's protection, and so experience those benefits of English rule which she has so long desired. England alone will hold her on trust for the rest of the world, Christian, Jewish, and Mahommedan; under England's care Christian, Jew, and Moslem will worship in peace and safety; by England every religious and national prejudice will be respected. Many voices have been raised in favour of Syria proper passing into French keeping. It seems a good—indeed, a natural—solution of her



question. France has long cared for Syria, and Syria for her; France has spent a good deal upon Syria one way or another; there is something curiously akin between the two peoples, and it is likely that Syria as a whole would welcome French protection. Syria would present a fruitful field for the exercise of that engineering skill in which France is so eminent; there are great mountains to be bridled by roads and railways, rivers to be spanned by bridges and harnessed for irrigation, valleys and plains to be cultivated for the use of men. Thus, in separating Palestine and Syria, as we did at the beginning, if France has Syria, Palestine falls naturally to Great Britain. Our present occupation of Egypt makes it, indeed, a necessity that we should guard Palestine also; for the desert between is no certain protection to either country, and if a Turkish army (which is generally destitute of every military necessity except courage) could pass the desert with such comparative ease and celerity, what would not be possible to fully equipped and organized forces? English rule has long been the ardent desire of the Christians of Palestine, and latterly even the Moslems have cried out for it openly under the ever-increasing weight of Turkish oppression. About a year before the outbreak of war, deputations of Bedouin from beyond Jordan (wild creatures who usually avoid the stir of towns) kept on coming in to ask the Turkish Governor of Jerusalem when the English were coming to take the Holy City. The Pasha, considerably perturbed by this unexpected development, put them off with specious excuses—there was no answer yet from the English; letters took so long on the way; they were coming soon. Three times these untamed men of the desert came, then ceased, in bitter disappointment. Perhaps they thought that England had failed them. What had started the idea no one ever knew. About the same time a rumour arose in the city that five English Generals were coming by the evening train to take Jerusalem. Half the city flocked joyfully to the station, many of the Jews even went down to Jaffa to view the landing, and when no one arrived the disappointment was really intense. We may smile at the simplicity of these people, but never at the real desire for liberty, the real belief in England, that lay behind it.

England is greatly trusted in Palestine, for the people have come to understand that all her institutions out there are wholly for their benefit, and mask no ugly political aim or greed. The common saying "On the word of an Englishman it is true!" must make us proud each time we hear it. English prestige suffered a temporary eclipse in recent years, owing, perhaps, to a restrained line of policy that was misunderstood by those to whom power must be shown in concrete form, but it has never been destroyed. The extraordinary joy and thankfulness with which General Allenby and his army were welcomed by Jerusalem is a convincing proof of what the people feel for

England; and it is the more wonderful when we remember that for three years they have been subjected to bitter and unscrupulous anti-English propaganda by the Germans in Palestine, with no chance of hearing even a whisper of the truth. For many years past the education of the land has been almost entirely in foreign hands, with the result that there is now ready a generation of well-educated young Syrians, men and women, who know French and English well, who (the men chiefly) have been driven by Turkish misrule to seek their living in other countries. These will undoubtedly return to Palestine with the dawn of a fairer day, and there will be at once a generation ready and fit for use. A number of young Syrians have done well in Egypt and the Sudan in British Government departments, proving the extent of the Syrian's capacity and trustworthiness under firm but sympathetic direction. One important consequence of the quickened intercourse between Palestine and Egypt and the Sudan has been that the Syrians have been able to see and to prove for themselves the benefits of British rule, and to appreciate the immense difference between Egypt under the English and Palestine under the Turks. For years past the Syrians have said, "If the English cannot take our country as it is, then let them annex it to Egypt, so that we may be under English government and protection." You see, it had to be *England* somehow!

We may not doubt that now, freed from the long bitterness of an unspeakable bondage, and brought under the splendid breadth and justice of our Mother England's rule, which is, of all Western governments, that best adapted to Eastern needs, Palestine will become once more what she should be, the highway of God. Is she not to us all the land of an eternal and infinite promise?

Colonel A. C. YATE said he was no authority on Palestine, but was closely interested in the English Grand Priory of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which the lecturer's father was for a number of years a Sub-Prelate. He had seen the suggestion made that Jerusalem might suitably become the seat of the Court of Arbitration which was now established at the Hague, while other writers had discussed the possibility of Egypt becoming a vitally central point of the British Empire. One of the foremost German writers on German war aims had called the Suez Canal the *nerve centre* of the British Empire. Ideas and suggestions such as these could not be ignored. What aimed at becoming the power of the age was Social Democracy, pervading all nations and leaguering them together for peace, and (what is ruin to the human race) subordinating individual talent, energy, and wealth to a common dead level of national mediocrity. Were the highest social grades going to allow Social Democracy to be the one dominating feature in the world, or were they going to set up to it what every

great political movement should have—an opposition? He for one was strongly in favour of an opposition. He was going to suggest in connection with the Order of St. John of Jerusalem something that might appear quixotic, but which, none the less, might take a practical shape. He believed there was a great possible future before the grand old Order, which had been so closely associated with the history of Jerusalem. It might be vouchsafed to the Order to become, if on a small scale, but in co-operation with other interests, a centre of opposition to Social Democracy. Within the last century the Order had been one of the great Hospitaller powers of the civilized world, and it was so still; but he was not in the least convinced that this should continue to be its main work. In comparison with it the Red Cross was of mushroom growth; but the latter was a strong up-to-date organization, and it would be possible for the Order to hand over its Hospitaller functions, in whole or in part, to the Red Cross. The Order, which now had its headquarters at Rome, might well be combined, as it formerly was, under one distinct head, and then become a political power, exercising a very wholesome influence. In the old days it was an essentially international Order, and its members were obliged by their vows to refrain from mixing themselves up in national and international quarrels. That was why, when the Guelph and the Ghibelline divided Christendom, the Hospitallers were able so long to hold Rhodes and Malta against the Turk and protect Europe. The anarchy that now threatened Europe was that of which Bolshevism in Russia was for the moment the most active apostle. That was a gospel that must be taken by the throat and choked. It was deeply to be regretted that His Holiness the Pope, as Mr. Richard Bagot had ably shown in the *National Review*, had failed to observe strict neutrality, and shown marked partiality toward Catholic Austria and partly Catholic Germany. Under existing circumstances, when Italy declared war against the Central Powers, the Grand Master of the Order, being an Austrian, had been obliged to withdraw to Vienna. In the old days the Order held aloof from international disputes. It should revert to this great tradition, put aside mere sectarianism, which was entirely unsuited to the age, and, by uniting its branches, become a strong political power. He wished to add, in conclusion, how much he had enjoyed a graphic description of Palestine direct from one who knew it so intimately, such as he had never had the opportunity of listening to before.

Mr. E. R. P. Moon said that all present had been interested by the new suggestion made by Colonel Yate as to the method of internationalizing Palestine. Miss Blyth had suggested an English protectorate; but we must remember how big our commitments were as an Empire, and that internationalization might be more in harmony with the spirit of the age. He wished to express his appreciation of

the brilliant and charming discourse to which they had listened. It was more than thirty years since he visited the Holy Land; but that visit led him to be specially interested in what Miss Blyth had told them of the Crusades, in respect to which his memory had recently been refreshed by re-reading Gibbon. He could give a very trifling morsel of evidence to support her view that there was a widespread feeling among the people of that country that England had some claim in the Holy Land and would make it good some day. He and his companion, for climatic reasons, were travelling from north to south, when they encamped close to the village of Hanin, and visited the old Crusaders' castle of Subeibeh. Next morning, about an hour's ride from their camp, three rascally looking men dashed upon them from behind shocks of corn and demanded their passports. It appeared that these were respectively the *lindis*, the village scribe, and the head of the local *zaptiehs*, and that the report had got about that they were surveying the castle with a view to its acquisition, so as to hold it for the benefit of the British Empire.

The CHAIRMAN said the internationalization of Palestine was tried in the time of the Crusades without any very great success. He hoped that if tried again the result would be more successful than in the past. In reference to Miss Blyth's remarks on the French claims to Syria, it was to be remembered that for many centuries the French were closely associated with that part of the world. In the first Crusade the leaders were almost all Frenchmen, and the last Crusade was participated in by Louis IX. of France, known as St. Louis, who was imprisoned for four years in Syria, and later on died at Carthage, with the words "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," on his dying lips. Ever since, the French had been keenly interested in the affairs of Syria. In 1840 the English took possession of that country from Mehemet Ali of Egypt, and handed it over to Turkey, much against the wishes of the French, who had been backing Mehemet Ali. Since that time the French had always been very active in propaganda in Syria. In the troubles between the Maronites and the Druses, the French always exercised their influence in favour of the former, whereas the English supported the latter. When he had the honour to occupy the latter post, he and his French contemporary were good personal friends, though more or less in political opposition to one another. Usually when he went among the Druses he was received with enthusiasm, but did not have a similar cordial reception among the Maronites; while the converse position applied to the French Consul-General. On one occasion the Maronite colony had a quarrel with his French colleague, and happening to go into the country, he (the speaker) was received in a most enthusiastic way by the Maronites, much to his astonishment. It was their way of showing the French Consul how displeased they were with him. When he got back to Beirut he and the Frenchmen had a good laugh

over the incident. It was not long before the French Consul recovered his position amongst the Maronites, and all went well with both of them. After all, the principal bone of contention between the French and English representatives in his time was as to who should have the smartest cavasses. They were each allowed four of these men, and vied with one another in dressing them gorgeously, very largely out of their own pockets.

The rapid survey the lecturer had given of events in Palestine from the time of the Patriarchs called up historical memories, and the allusions she had made could be multiplied by the hundred. One curious way in which East and West were combined was that in the time of Haroun-al-Raschid that monarch entered into communication with Charlemagne and appointed him custodian of Jerusalem. We all knew the story of our own Richard Cour-de-Lion, how he captured Cyprus and then sold it again to the French, who formed a kingdom there. Another curious incident was that St. Louis, to whom he had referred, was actually in negotiation as to the disposal of Palestine with Hulagu Khan, son of Jenghiz Khan, the famous Mongol conqueror. The Mongols were at that time Buddhists, but shortly after became Moslems, and the negotiations were dropped.

The Chairman then quoted the memorandum recently published by the Bolshevik Government in Petrograd, dated February 21, 1917, outlining the partitions agreed upon by the Allied Powers, under which Palestine was to be a protectorate under Russia, France, and England. How far the document was authentic we did not know. But he did not think that the Allies would divide the Eastern territories in the same way now, having regard to the defection of Russia. It was far from easy to speculate as to what was going to happen in the future. What might seem to most people the right policy to-day, might be impossible or undesirable to-morrow. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by Sir Evan James, and carried with applause.

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE COSSACK COMMUNITIES

THERE are few terms which have passed through more evolutionary changes since the Middle Ages than the term "Cossack." Allow me to give you some examples of the difficulties that await the novice in attacking this subject. Given a man who goes by the name of Cossack, we might find, on inquiring into his origin, that he was a Great Russian, a Ukrainian, a native Mongol, a "Tatar," a Lett, or a Finn. If he has been a Cossack for some generations—i.e., if he can be called a "hereditary" Cossack—he may, whatever his origin, have adopted the traditions of the old Cossack national communities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Thus, first of all, it must be clearly understood that the modern Cossack regiments (*voiska*) and the historic Cossack national communities represent two opposite principles. Yet both of them formed ethnically a part of the population of Eastern Europe, though they live both there and in Asiatic Russia. But quite apart from these two groups must be the treatment of the people of purely Asiatic blood known as Kirghis-Kaizak and calling themselves simply Kaizak (which in pronunciation is almost identical with the Russian Cossack—Kazak). These Kirghis-Kaizak must not be confused with the Kirghis who rightly own this name, and who now live round by Pamir and Alai and in the Issyk-Kul district.

It is therefore necessary to enter into the origin and history of the term "Cossack," so as to differentiate these various types, and get a clear idea of the present relation of the different Cossacks to one another and to other peoples of Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Until quite recently this scientific inquiry would have been rather hampered by the policy of the old Russian régime of not calling things or peoples by their right names. Thus, the Turkic nation of the Kaizak were given the official name of Kirghis, possibly through ignorant confusion with the real Kirghis, but chiefly in order to reserve the word "Kazak" for the designation of the Russian regiments which had conquered Asia. Again, the Cossack regiments were not allowed to remember their independent national past, and remain a tool in the hands of the Government for the suppression of all national aspirations within the boundary of the Russian Empire.



As a member of a nation whose feeling of national independence was stronger than that of any other unit comprised within the old Russia I had my first opportunity of meeting the Cossacks as ruthless suppressors of any public manifestation of religious and national life. Had my acquaintance with the Cossacks been limited to what I saw of them as they galloped on their Asiatic ponies through the streets of European Warsaw, using their iron-pointed whips or *nahaikas* on the peaceful crowd, it is possible that my interest in the Cossack social and racial problems might never have been awakened. When, later, I saw them in their own territories on the Don and in the Caucasus, it was difficult to conceive that they were the same people who, when sent to a far-distant province, carried their obedience to orders to such inhuman lengths. Yet another side of the Cossack character, the imaginative and exploratory, unfolded itself before my eyes when I saw them in Siberia. But it was not until I came to investigate the question of the Eastern Turks that I at last understood the profound historical and political reasons which led to the origin of Cossack communities independently in Europe and in Asia, both of which became subject to Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

I may perhaps be allowed just to mention that, when visiting Warsaw some hours before the German occupation in the autumn of 1915, I had the opportunity of seeing the Cossacks once more in action on Polish land, but this time with a curiously reverential attitude towards the Polish people, and with boundless courage hindering, if only for a moment, the inevitable German advance.

These personal experiences have in many cases thrown light on difficult points in my ethnological researches.

HISTORY OF THE TERM.—In tracing the history of the term "Cossack," "Kazak," we can follow the origin and spread of the Cossack national organizations. Various theories have been put forward on the subject. Erskine,\* the translator of "Baber's Memoirs," Sir Henry Howorth,† and Klapproth,‡ think that the term has no ethnic value, and is derived from an Arabic word which travelled through Persia and found its way to the Circassians of the Northern Caucasus, from where it spread to the Turks of Central Asia and to Russia. According to these authorities, the meaning of the term is "a martial man leading a roving life." Against these opinions we have the theory of Vámbéry\* and Schuyler that the word has acquired ethnic significance in the course of time, and that it is of Turkic origin, from *kaz*, "to wander" (modern form *kez*, *kiz*), and the suffix of the verbal noun, *ak*. Another version derives the term from the words *khaz*, "a

\* Erskine, "Baber's Memoirs," v., xi. See note to p. 7.

† Howorth, "History of the Mongols," Part II., Division I., p. 5.

‡ Klapproth, "Travels in the Caucasus," p. 311.

§ "Das Türkenvolk," p. 108.

steppe goose," and *zag*, "a steppe crow," thus making it of Perso-Turkic origin, and implying the meaning "free as a steppe bird."\* So, whatever the difference in detail, it is agreed that the term describes a people living a free and wandering life.

Already in the tenth century the land on the Lower Don was called Kazachia (according to Porphyrogenitus), and in the eleventh century we hear from a Persian poet Firdusi (in his "Shah-Nameh") of the nomad Kazak people, armed with lances, and of their chief, Kazak-Khan. These Kazak are probably the ancestors of the Turkic Kaizak who later migrated to Central Asia, where they still live. But it is possible that the term may have remained in Eastern Europe from the eleventh century,† though we hear of people bearing this name in Eastern Europe some three or four centuries later.

HISTORY OF THE ASIATIC COMMUNITY.—After this mention in the eleventh century we hear nothing of the Turkic Kazak for two centuries, and it is probable that their organization was amalgamated with some other Turkic power. But in the thirteenth century, after the death of Jhingis Khan, we hear that they were included in that part of his empire which passed to his son Juji.‡

In the middle of the fifteenth century we find the Kazak again asserting themselves as a separate unit. In the meantime they seem to have formed part of the "White Horde" from which the chieftains of the modern Kaizak claim their descent, and were probably united with the Uzbek. About the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a number of these Kaizak-Uzbek, discontented with the rule of their Khan, Abulkhayr, migrated with their Sultans Girei and Janibeg into Moghulistan (between Issyk-Kul and Kashgar), and have since been called simply Kazak.§

This Kaizak steppe community continued to exist with increasing power till the end of the seventeenth century. Their Khans were called the Kasimov dynasty, after Kasim Khan, son of the Janibeg|| who led them on their migration. At the end of the seventeenth century one of their most famous Khans, Tiavka, divided them for

\* P. Kuznietsoff, *La Lutte des Civilisations et des Langues dans l'Asie Centrale*. Paris, 1912; p. 60.

† H. Vámbéry, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

‡ W. W. Radloff, "Aus Sibirien," p. 193.

§ Mirza Haydar, "Tarikh-i-Rashidi," p. 82; F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, "The Heart of Asia," pp. 193, 194; H. H. Howorth, "History of the Mongols," Part II., Division I., p. 6.

|| V. V. Velyaminoff-Zernoff, "The Emperors and Princes of the Line of Kasim" (Russ.); A. Levshin, "Description of the Hordes and Steppes of the Kirghis-Kaizak," St. Petersburg, 1832 (Russ.); N. Aristoff, "Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaizak of the Great Orda, and of the Kara-Kirghis," 1894, pp. 391-436 (Russ.); N. I. Grodekoff, "The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of Syrdarya Territory," 1889 (Russ.); T. Kazantseff, "Description of the Kirghis-Kaizak," 1867 (Russ.). A. N. Kharuzin, "Bibliography of the Ethnographical Essays on the Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis."

administrative purposes into three groups, called Ordas—the Great, Middle, and Little Ordas. Since then the history of each Orda runs apart.

The subjugation of the Kaizak to Russia lasted from 1734-1864, when they were finally separated by the Russian military cordons from the other Asiatic powers. But they have not ceased to take every opportunity to emphasize their independent spirit. The most important rising was that led by Kenisary, who was master of all three Ordas for some six years, 1838-1844. While the Russian occupation of the Khanates of Central Asia roused the indignation of many people in Europe, the conquest of the Kaizak seems to have met with approval. Sir Henry Howorth, speaking on this question, gives us a somewhat uncomplimentary picture of the Kaizak. He says: "The Kazaks, whose very name is a synonym for freebooters and robbers, have been the scourge of all their neighbours for generations, habitually given to robbery and pillage, bound by no promise and no oath, and constantly disintegrating under the solvent of rival chiefs, with rival reputations as leaders of bandits. The Russians were long-suffering for years to their habitual treacheries and deceptions." So much for this quotation. A personal acquaintance with these people produces a more satisfactory impression of their moral. But it is true that it is only with difficulty that they can be persuaded to abandon their nomadic life, and that they ally themselves easily with other nomads, such as the real Kirghis, called Kara-Kirghis, the Kipchak, and other Turkic steppe people.

An analysis of the history of the Turkic Kaizak, especially of the later period, from the middle of the fourteenth century, when their numbers were swelled in consequence of the Chinese Revolution of 1370 on the one hand and the sweeping conquests and imperial régime of Timur-Khan in Central Asia on the other,\* leads us to the following hypothesis as to the cause, and even the inevitableness, of their organization.

Big empires composed of nations with such a variation of habits and cultures as the Empire of Mété (3-2 cent. B.C.), of Jhinghis (13 cent. A.D.), or of Timur (14 cent.), were kept together only by strong autocratic rule and by imposing on all people one mode of life. Such a rule worked fairly satisfactorily in the regions near the centre of the Empire, but at the outskirts the rule would be naturally weaker, and hence would allow the people to revert, as it were, to the mode of life of their ancestry—i.e., the nomadic life as against the more sedentary life of the Central Empire. The more autocratic and powerful the ruler of the Empire, the more often do we hear of rebellious people on the outskirts.

This explanation of the origin of the Asiatic Cossacks holds good

\* L. Cahun, "L'Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie," 1896, p. 479.

when dealing with the European Cossacks, but of course, since the Central Empires of Eastern Europe were more sedentary than the Central Empires of Northern Asia, Cossacks of Eastern Europe were only half nomadic, whilst the Kaizak of Asia were pure nomads. In the ethnic formation of the Kaizak of Asia the Turkic blood predominated over the Tungus and Mongolic, while in the formation of European Cossacks the Slavonic blood predominated over the Turkic. Thus, however different the European and Asiatic "outskirts people" are, they possess three characteristics in common: love of personal freedom, aptitude for nomadic industries, and skill in warfare.

HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.—I shall now pass to the history of European Cossacks, which is much easier to trace, since it is closely bound up with the histories of Russia, of Poland, and, to a lesser degree, of other East European countries.\*

Several stages may be distinguished in the history of the European Cossacks. The *first stage* corresponds to the first State organization in the old Kieff Rus, from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.

The *second* comprises the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and corresponds to the development of the Cossack independent national communities.

The *third* covers the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the neighbouring States tried to subdue the Cossacks, and thus brought about the Cossack wars with Poland and with Russia, which led to a decline in the Cossack national strength, and eventually to their reorganization as the light cavalry of the Russian army (*voiska*).

The *fourth* is the stage of the Cossack cavalry, or *voiska*, in the nineteenth century and until the present war.

To take the *first period*. The idea of using these conquered nomadic people as defensive outposts on the borderland was already known in the days of the old Kieff Rus, in the time of Nestor, and thus existed before the term "Kaizak" came to this region. The first we hear of anything of this nature is in connection with a branch of the Pyechenyegs, the rivals of the Cumans in the invasion of Southern Russia in the twelfth century. These Pyechenyegs were subdued by the Rus people, and a part of them, called Chorno-Klobuki, was used for defensive purposes on the borderlands. The Chorno-Klobuki, known of as early as 1162, were some seventy years later (1239) fighting

\* M. Hrushevskii, "History of the Ukraine-Rus," Lemberg, 1904 (Ruthenian); A. Jablonowski, "History of the Southern Rus until the Fall of the Polish Commonwealth," 1912 (Polish); V. Sukhorukoff, "Historical Description of the Land of the Don Voiska," 1895 (Russ.); A. Levshin, "Historical and Statistical Account of the Ural Cossacks, 1823" (Russ.); N. Kharuzin, "Information relating to the Cossack Communities on the Don" (Russ.); P. Korolenko, "The Chernomortsy" (Russ.); F. Rawita Gawronski, Bohdan Chmielnicki, 1906-1909 (Polish); N. Rojko, "The Cossacks," vol. xxiii, pp. 90-118, of Jeleznoff's Encyclo. (Russ.); A. Suroff, "The Cossacks," vol. xiii, pp. 882-894, of Andreevsky's Encyclo., 1895 (Russ.).

the hordes of Batu Khan on the side of the Russians. Like so many of the other Turks in Southern Russia, the Chorno-Klobuki accepted Christianity and adopted Russian habits, but, curiously enough, one branch of them still kept their Turkic language, and they live until now in Bessarabia, to the number of some 30,000, under the name Gagauzy.\* I have purposely dwelt upon this interesting detail about the predecessors of the Cossack communities in Europe, because since the very beginning of Russia (then called Rus) the life of the State has seemed to need such a defence for its frontiers, which lacking natural boundaries, if left undefended, would have been open to invasion.

And, indeed, such an invasion actually occurred in the thirteenth century. It is significant that as long as the invaders occupied the Russian lands we hear nothing of the borderland communities. But after the Mongol-Tatars either withdrew into Asia or became merged in the local population, the end of the fifteenth century shows us again on the borderland a community this time called Cossack.

This marks the beginning of the *second period*. Over the land devastated by the invasion there poured all those rebellious members of the Polish-Lithuanian and the Moscow States who could not submit to the modernized state organization, with its industrial development and its class distinctions. The two big rivers of the south, the Dnieper and the Don, were the two chief centres round which these deserters congregated. The Dnieper community, whose history is bound up with the history of Poland-Lithuania and of the Ukraine, developed somewhat differently from the Don community, and has much more of a national character.

The constant invasions of the Crimean Khans, united with the Moscow Dukes against the Kieff and Chernigoff Princes, prevented the Dnieper community from settling on the open plains. Hence they moved towards the islands of the Dnieper, "beyond the rapids," which in the Ukrainian language is "Za porogi." From this phrase is derived their name of Zaporogian Cossacks. Since it was the Ukrainian land that these Cossacks colonized, the Ukrainian language became the language of the community, though Polish, and occasionally Latin, were often used as well. The remnants of the Ukrainian peasantry which had escaped the devastations of the Tatars amalgamated with these adventurous nobles of Poland, Lithuania, and Rumania, and the community was further increased by the addition of truant serfs and various social outcasts.

In a way this Cossack movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saved and developed the Ukrainian language, and laid the foundation of the Ukrainian national feeling which has just been given such dramatic expression.

\* P. Golubowski, "The Pyechenyegi, the Türki, and the Polovtsy until the Tatar Invasion," Kieff, 1884 (Russ.).



The early organization of the Zaporogian Cossacks is so striking that I shall devote a few words to it. They were divided into Village Cossacks, living in the neighbourhood of the Dnieper, and Syech Cossacks—that is to say, those living in various inaccessible places on the cataracts of the same river. The Village Cossacks, united by ties of blood with the Syech, represented the family life of the Cossacks, while the Syech was a kind of military and moral order, involving vows of chastity and celibacy, adherence to the Orthodox Creed, and allegiance to the Dnieper community. In the early stages of the Syech, the educated classes predominated over the uneducated; but everyone was equal, no one was asked about his past, and in time of war everyone was obliged to render absolute obedience to the chief. Their chief was called *hetman*, or *ataman*, and was elected for a year. In time of war he had the power of a dictator, but in peace the supreme authority was in the hands of the Assembly, or *Rada*. No woman was allowed to enter the domain of the Syech, or to attend the political meetings or the men's dance, *kozachok*.

Though their protest against the countries from which they originally separated was chiefly based on a wish for more democratic conditions, the Cossacks soon developed two classes—the proletariat called *holytba* ("naked men"), or *chern* ("black men"), and the *domovityie*—i.e., "owning a house"—to which all the *starshini*, or elders, belong. With the advent of class distinctions among the Zaporogians, the old Draconic rules, which would hang a man found drunk during a war, began to be relaxed. But it was when their régime was at its strictest that the Polish King, Stefan Batory, made an attempt to register such Cossacks as wished to form a free army to be used for the protection of Poland's frontiers against the Turk. From the middle of the sixteenth century various reforms were introduced into the free community by the Polish Government. Among these were a more regular army organization with the famous division into tenths and hundredths which persists even now. The Cossacks who enlisted at the request of the Polish Kings were on Government pay, were ennobled like the Polish fighting men, and are known in history as the "registered Cossacks." But as soon as a war was over these regiments would naturally sink back unto the general Cossack organizations, to the dissatisfaction of the Poles, and the Polish administrators of the Ukraine would claim the unregistered as well as the registered Cossacks for the service of the King. It was obvious that an arrangement subordinating only one part of the Cossack forces could not be lasting, and the mutual misunderstanding between the Cossack organizations and the Polish administration reached its climax when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a strong man appeared within the Cossack community, who was, on the whole, more of a Ukrainian patriot than of a Cossack. His name was Bohdan Chmielnicki. Of Ukrainian-Lithuanian-Polish



parentage and Latin education, he joined the community only about 1627, and a few years later he was already at the head of the Separatist movement in the Ukraine. It was, however, a private affair that led to the final rupture. A Polish noble of the Ukraine, by name Chaplinski, carried away Chmielnicki's sweetheart. This gave the signal for the rising under the leadership of Chmielnicki, who was then elected Hetman of the Cossacks.

The Cossacks, it must be remembered, played at that time the rôle of the army of the Ukraine, and in alliance with the Turks they embarked upon a long and destructive war. Weakening as it was to Poland, the war was mortal for the Ukraine, and its Cossacks and led to the treaty at Pereyslav in 1654, where the Cossacks gave themselves up to such dependence on Russia as they had never known before. The Russian Tsars soon realized that the Ukrainians would never cease to claim their freedom as long as they had their Cossacks to support them, and there began a period of persecution and forcible reorganization of the Dnieper Cossacks more severe than anything ever suffered by the Don Cossacks. It failed, however, to produce the desired effect, for in spite of the forcible transportation of part of these Cossacks into the Northern Caucasus and the Azov country, the national spirit developed through all the persecution as it would never have done if the people had been left to themselves to assimilate naturally with their neighbours.

The Don community consisted largely of Great Russians, including such independent members of the Great Russian State as the Old Believers, together with other rebels of an intellectual type. Being farther away from Western Europe, the Don Cossacks had neither the quasi-monastic, quasi-knighthood organization represented by the Syech of the Ukrainians, nor did the class distinctions develop to such a great extent as among the former.

The Don Cossacks are mentioned already in the Moscow annals of the fourteenth century, and we hear of their being allied with the Russian Princes against the Tatars in Kulikoff's battle of 1380. When in 1549 the Nogai Prince complained to Ivan the Terrible of the depredations of the Don Cossacks, the Moscow Government replied that the Don Cossacks were renegades of Moscow and Lithuania who did not recognize the authority of the Tsar. Yet the Don Cossacks gave their help to Moscow in subjugating the Khanate of Kazan in 1552 and the Khanate of Astrakhan in 1556. In 1570 the Tsar sent to the Don Cossacks an envoy whose mission it was to persuade them to enlist in his service, for which generous compensation was promised. This was the first of incessant and forcible attempts to subjugate the Don Cossacks to Moscow, which was finally accomplished in 1623.

The *third period* of Cossack history, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is one long struggle between the growing power of the Russian State and these communities, whose reorganization into regiments or

*voiska* (depending directly on the Russian Government and not on the army) was a task neither easy nor rapid. Curiously enough, while the Dnieper and Don, Yaik and Terek regions for a long time have not ceased to be the quarter whence many liberative movements originated, and where rebels found support, those branches of the Don and Yaik Cossacks who were amalgamated with the forces sent from Moscow to the conquest of Siberia at once became the most devoted servants of the Tsar.

The history of the European Cossacks in Siberia is thus somewhat different from their history in Europe. Their relation to the Central Government took on at once the character of the relation of the *voiska* of the later type, and it dates from the time of Yermak, at the end of the sixteenth century. It was owing to the organization of two kinds of Cossack forces in Siberia, the *Lineynnye*, or Border Cossacks, and the Town Cossacks, who formed a kind of police force, that Siberia was kept under the sway of the Tsar. It was also to the exploratory and adventurous spirit of these voluntary Cossack detachments that the rapidity of the conquest was due. The first Russian town, Tiumen, was built in 1586, and the year 1647 saw the foundation of Okhotsk on the shores of the Pacific.

The Russian Cossacks in Siberia increased in numbers with the advance of the Russian conquests. The Nerchinsk Treaty with China in 1689 led to the formation of the Transbaikal Cossacks, the occupation of the Amur country in 1865 gave rise to the Amur Cossacks, and the Ussuri Cossacks were organized in 1882. But the Cossacks living near to the old centres, especially in the neighbourhood of the Don, often hindered the Russian advance by local rebellions. Thus, for instance, in 1557 a group of Cossacks on the Volga rebelled and stopped the conquest of the Volga Finnic tribes. On their submission, the rebels were renamed Yaik Cossacks; but these same Yaik Cossacks gave their support to the momentous rising of Pugachoff, and when Catherine the Great broke up this conspiracy the Yaik Cossacks were once more renamed, and have since been known as the Ural Cossacks.

The disintegration and renaming of the Ukrainian Cossacks has a still longer history.

There exists a great deal of literature on Cossack life, and the heroes of their earlier as well as of their later stage. Those who can avail themselves of the Russian or Polish originals, or, in some cases, of translations, can spend hours in an atmosphere of enthusiasm or of horror. Among the masterpieces are Gogol's "Taras Bulba," Slovacki's "Mazepa," the "Trilogy" of Sienkiewicz ("With Fire and Sword"), and many smaller literary works by eminent Russian and Polish writers. Beautiful as these are, and perhaps because of their high literary value, they often impose upon their readers to the extent of being raised from the level of fiction and given the weight of an historical record. But

in point of fact it turns solely on whether the writer is a Pole or a Russian whether any prominent Cossack leader is lauded as a hero or stigmatized as a scoundrel. This is true in the case of Mazepa, and to a certain extent also of Chmielnicki. Again, we find that Stanko Rasin and Pugachoff, two rebels of the Don and Yaik Cossacks still live in sagas and folk-songs as democratic reformers, fighting for land and freedom for the people, generous to the Holytba, just to the Domovityie, severe in their moral, and devoted to their cause. It will be understood that scoundrel was the mildest epithet applied to them in the official Russian books. Probably, when his history comes to be written, the same double character will be given to the figure of Hetman Kaledin, Hetman once more after a hundred years, during which this title was a nominal one, held by the heir to the Russian throne.

A few words must be said as to the result achieved by the old Russian Government after they had succeeded in breaking the national spirit of the Cossacks, and had skilfully diverted their vitality to fighting the external enemies of Russia in Asia, and occasionally in the West. Until 1905, and to a certain extent until the outbreak of the Revolution, the Cossacks were used against all whom the old Russian Government considered dangerous to the State.

That a revolutionary movement, or at least a spirit of discontent with the corruption of the old Government, must have existed among them to a greater extent than appeared on the surface until 1916, is clear from the fact that in the time of the crisis of Tsardom the Cossacks took not much pains to uphold the old régime. But the significance of this must not be overestimated, for it is also true that but a few of them are found among the Left or Centre of the revolutionaries.

At present there are twelve large Cossack units or *voiska*, and several smaller units, such as the Irkutsk hundreds, the Yakutsk Town Cossacks, and the Turkoman Cossack division. The large units\* are—

				Population.
Don, with its headquarters in	Novocherkask	...	...	1,500,000
Kuban "	Ekaterinodar	...	...	1,350,000
Ural (Yaik) "	Uralsk	...	...	900,000
Orenburg "	Orenburg	...	...	530,000
Terek "	Vladikhavkaz	...	...	270,000
Trans-Baikal "	Chita	...	...	270,000
Siberian "	Omsk	...	...	180,000
Amur "	Blagoveshchensk	...	...	50,000
Semirechensk "	Viernyi	...	...	45,000
Astrakhan "	Astrakhan	...	...	40,000
Ussuri "	Vladivostock	...	...	34,000
Yenisei "	Irkutsk	...	...	30,000

Their total number is about 5,199,000, with a great predominance of males over females. The Cossacks own, or owned until recently,

\* According to the recent book by Robert Wilton, "Russia's Agony," 1918, p. 316.

141,600,000 acres of land, varying from 14 acres per head (in Kuban) to 100 in Transbaikal. Speaking generally, the Cossacks have three or four times as much land per head as the Russian peasantry. In Siberia, where they own the greatest amount of land, only 9 per cent. of arable land was under cultivation in 1910-1911.

Besides these large endowments of land, the Cossacks have the privilege of being free from taxation and of being governed by a special Cossack Board in the Ministry of War, which makes them autonomous as regards the neighbouring population. In return for these privileges the Cossacks have to render military service to the State. Theoretically all the male population from eighteen years of age has to serve for nineteen years. Those not fit for military service pay money to the community, and are placed on the lists of special regiments called *lgotnyie polki*. The Cossack is obliged to provide his own horse and uniform, the Government supplying only arms. Several other duties normally devolving upon the Government, such as the upkeep of the roads, of schools, and the providing of medical treatment, rest with the Cossack community.

Each large unit or *voisko* is divided into districts (*okrug*) and village groups (*stanitsa*), these, again, being subdivided into villages (*hutor*). The head of the smaller division is subordinate to the chief of the larger. The land belonging to a *voisko* is only to a small extent used by its own people; a greater amount is rented to various non-Cossack people, excluding Jews. Thus, on the Don territory only 400 people per 1,000 are Cossacks, and on the other territories the percentage of Cossacks is still smaller. Some part of it is appropriated for the private estates of the Cossack nobles—i.e., officers of high rank. The chief social distinction within the community is that the officers, who are nobles, are permitted to have private property in land out of the land belonging to the *voiska*. As a rule, also, they are better educated, though on the whole the percentage of illiterates among the Cossack population is a small one. The least educated are the Transbaikal Cossacks, among whom only 25 per cent. can read. The highest percentage is in the Astrakhan *voisko*—81 per cent. Among the Don Cossacks, where one would expect it to be high, the percentage of those who can read is only 66.

As compared with the bulk of the Russian army under the old régime, the Cossack regiments are of small proportions. In times of peace 55,000 Cossacks are under arms; in time of war the number is 180,000.\* But as a matter of fact during this war many more of them have been called out. It is common knowledge that as a fighting force their quality far surpasses their quantity.

In peaceful times the Cossack industries are chiefly fishing and cattle and horse breeding. Next comes agriculture, which, however,

\* N. Rojkov, v. 23; Jeleznoff Encyclo., p. 105.

is still at a primitive and wasteful stage. Then comes the cultivation of wine and tobacco plantations. The Asiatic Cossacks are well known as traders.

CONCLUSION.—Having traced the origin of these curious communities, followed their evolution, and seen something of their present state, I should now like to lay before you two momentous problems, one connected with the Kaizak, the other with the Cossacks, the solution of which is of vital importance to Eastern Europe and to Asia.

The first problem arises out of the existence, the character, and the circumstances of the Turkic Kaizak (*i.e.*, the Turkic Cossacks). They are a body who, despite their nomadic condition, have an importance not to be lightly estimated, for any cause, either within Russia or without, which has their support will be very considerably strengthened thereby. Numbering from four to five million, by no means thoroughly subjugated by Mongol or by Russian power, this half-nomadic race of the Kaizak, whom, as we saw, the Russians erroneously call Kirghis, represents a considerable fighting force in its own land, since its clan organization still remains strong. Lying between Europe and Asia, its country extends from the shore of the Caspian to Pamir, and is on the route to the fabulously rich mines of Altai and Sayan and the other wealth of Siberia.

The Kaizak may be regarded as an advance-guard to the Turks of Bokhara, Khiva, and other countries of Turkestan, but their sympathies are detached, for although they have much in common with these Turks racially and linguistically, their want of strong feeling for Mahometanism sets them apart. This is hardly surprising, since Islam was only brought to them two centuries ago, and it has never been in them a driving cultural force. On the other hand, they have always been in opposition to the Central Russian Government, an opposition of which the rising of 1916 and its subsequent massacres is a recent proof.\* Their relation to the Russian Cossacks has been that of an insubordinate native tribe to a conquering Russian army, and yet Russian Cossacks and Turkic Kaizak have more in common with each other than either have with the Central Russian Government. Wherever Russian Cossacks have settled among Turkic Kaizak, it is the latter who have kept the upper hand, the Russian Cossacks adopting their mode of life and social outlook. In disregarding their essential kinship, and fostering dissension between the Russian and the Turkic Cossacks, the old Russian Government made a grave mistake. Friendly feeling and friendly terms have grown up and been established between the Turkic Kaizak and the progressive element among the Siberian colonists, which is a consideration worth noticing. There are two alternatives before the Kaizak, one of which

\* For a fuller account on the Turkic Kaizak, see M. A. Czaplicka's "Turks of Central Asia," now in preparation (Oxford University Press).



they must choose. Either they must support the progressive Siberians who work for an all-Russian Federation, or they must throw in their lot with the Turks of Central Asia, among whom German-Osmanli propagandists work for the separation of the Turkish peoples from Russia. The support of the Kaizak will be an important factor in the future of the side they choose. It is not likely that the Bolsheviks will dominate the Kaizak, since Bolshevism has its roots in industrialism, which does not as yet enter into the Kaizak civilization. Attempts at impregnation at second-hand through ideas derived from a state of society quite unlike their own are not likely to be successful among any people; furthermore, the instinct of self-preservation, strong among all nomadic tribes, runs counter to the anarchy consequent upon Bolshevik methods.

The second problem centres round the five and a half million Russian Cossacks of Europe and Asia. I am classing them all as Russian, since the seven units dwelling in Asia have throughout the War and the Revolution never broken their allegiance to the Cossacks in European Russia. The position of the Russian Cossacks has been fundamentally influenced by the War and by the Russian Revolution. Acute economic, social, and political problems now confront them, which must react gravely upon Russia itself. As a strictly organized military people, with a male population of nothing but commoners and officers, they have seemed in recent days like a blessed island for the torpedoed, a community whose stability was a certain asset; yet their strength was entirely bound up with the old régime, which they upheld and through which they existed. To remove from their horizon the name and the idea of Tsar and autocracy, and to replace it by the name and idea of the Russian country and nation, would need a political genius greater than has yet appeared during the Russian Revolution.\* The desire of the Cossacks for reforms in the old régime did not go to the length of wishing to change the form of government; but when the great majority of the other people of the country are moving in the direction of establishing a Republic, much might be gained by having the Cossacks with them. They might, of course, be won over in an evolutionary way, but the anarchy produced by the action of the extremists is not favourable soil for evolutionary changes. An essential initial step would be to identify the Cossack interests with the common cause. We know that at the beginning of the Revolution the Cossacks at the front joined the Revolutionaries, but they soon formed a separate all-Cossack party, led by the Don Cossacks, with the all-Cossack Congresses as a means of expressing their opinion. To this action they were led by the spoliation of

\* For a curious confusion of old and new ideas among the Cossacks, see M. Philips Price's article in *Manchester Guardian*, November 29, 1918, "At a Cossack Provincial Assembly."



their land by the Revolutionaries. What actually occurred was a mistake characteristic of revolutionaries everywhere. Instead of raising the landed property of the Russian peasants to the level of that of the Cossacks, the Revolutionaries, jealous of the past privileges of the Cossacks, now threaten to abolish *all* their privileges. The only way to solve the problem of the Cossack communities would be to give them protection without preferential treatment; not to destroy their time-honoured military organization, but to use it as a militia to support the new order, freed from its old lust for conquest. But while modernizing the Cossack communities in this way, it would be very desirable at the same time to revive one of their seventeenth-century traditions—namely, no distinction of classes. Had this tradition been upheld, and the distinction between the two classes of commoner-rankers and noblemen-officers been less sharp, Bolshevism would not have gained such a footing among them, and the historic crisis culminating in the dramatic death of General Kaledin\* might have been avoided.

There remains an economic problem: "How to arrive at a *modus vivendi* between the Cossacks and the Russian peasant village community?" If the Cossacks continue to be used for military service some other compensation ought to be provided for them than grants of enormous stretches of land which they neither can nor wish to cultivate. As to the national separatist feeling, it seems unlikely that this will grow if the other problems are satisfactorily settled.

The most acute of these national questions, directly connected with the Cossack problem, was the question of the Ukraine. But although the Ukrainian Cossacks have helped to preserve a separatist feeling in the Ukraine, their persecution by the Tsars was so effective that there is no longer a question of the Ukrainian Cossacks, but of the Ukrainian nation only. It is difficult to conceive a permanent bond between Germany and the Ukraine against the more natural ties which link her with her neighbours; but should Cossack communities be permanently deprived of the influx of Ukrainian blood, their racial character may become still more Asiatic, with the Great Russian element politically predominant and racially acting as a filter through which various Mongols and "Tatars" pass in the process of becoming Russified.

If oil is to be poured on the troubled waters of the present Russian chaos, it will be by the groups which prove to be the most highly organized, and the sooner the external and internal problems

\* Whether after the Russian Revolution, which one must consider to be still in progress, the report of General Kaledin's death will be confirmed or not is not important, since the true significance lies in the impossibility of his position as a "Hetman" consequent on the spread of Bolshevism among his subordinates.

of the Cossacks are settled, the greater will be the rôle they will play in the remaking of Eastern Europe.

M. A. CZAPLICKA,

*Mary Ewart lecturer in Ethnology in the School of  
Anthropology of the University of Oxford.*

The CHAIRMAN, after congratulating Miss Czaplicka on the excellence of her paper, stated that opinions differed as to the moral qualities of the Cossack, and quoted Mr. Eugene Schuyler's description of the Orenberg Cossacks as "mild, amiable, and hospitable, the pioneers of Russian civilization, brave, industrious, and enduring." Mackenzie Wallace and others had described the extreme cleanliness and order of the Cossack homes. Personally, he had not had much opportunity of studying them carefully, although he had come across them on the Russian frontier north of Kashghar; again during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78; and still later on the Danube, where there were Cossack patrols along the whole of the Russian bank of that river from Reni to the Black Sea; while at Galatz, where he had resided for some years, was the reputed tomb of the famous Mazeppa. He had also seen the Cossacks fighting against the Turks, and had greatly admired on one occasion their gallant and orderly retreat through three villages when attacked by a vastly superior force of Kurdish cavalry, who in those days were certainly no match for the Cossack.

One great reason for the want of unanimity among the Cossacks at the present time was the land question. The sedentary portion in the towns were inclined to sympathize with the Bolsheviks, while those who lived on the land were anxious to keep what they had possessed for centuries, and resented the inroads and claims of fresh settlers from European Russia, where the holdings were very much smaller than those of the Cossacks.

The Chairman concluded by proposing a cordial vote of thanks to Miss Czaplicka for her most interesting and instructive lecture.

SIR DONALD MACKENZIE WALLACE: The Cossack communities varied greatly from each other in character at different times and in different localities, but it may be said, roughly speaking, that the important part which they played in Russian history during many centuries consisted in defending the ever-advancing agricultural population against the frequent raids of the nomadic tribes living beyond the frontier. The villages which they inhabited (called *Stanitsas*) were organized for that purpose. They were always regarded by the Tsar as his subjects, but in early times, when the Khan of the Crimea or the Sultan of Turkey complained of their depredations, they were sometimes described as runaways and outlaws for whose conduct the Moscovite Government was not responsible. In this description there was a small element of truth, because some of them had fled to

the frontier in order to escape punishment, and many of them were inclined to take part in insurrectionary movements in their native country. In later times they were brought thoroughly under control, and incorporated in the national army as a useful irregular force, employed chiefly in the defence of the long southern frontier stretching from the Black Sea to the Far East.

Lieut-Colonel A. C. YATE: A previous speaker remarked that one came across Cossacks everywhere—from the Don to the Amur. My earliest acquaintance with a Cossack was on the walls of my father's dining-room in Yorkshire, when I was a very small boy. His name was Mazeppa—a Pole who became Hetman of the Cossacks. As I first saw him, he was represented in two engravings, after the French painter Vernet, which pictured him bound naked on the back of a horse, and borne at that horse's wild will over steppe and through forest. The story of Mazeppa may be read in the verse of Byron or the prose of Voltaire ("Charles XII."), and in the writings of authors whose names are less familiar to the everyday reader. I have not risen to treat of a subject upon which several of the other speakers have already touched—viz., the ethnology of the Cossack. I would rather take him as a figure in art and literature, such as we find him portrayed in Tolstoi's "Cossacks" and in Sienkiewicz' trilogy, entitled "With Fire and Sword," "The Deluge," and "Pan Michael." The lecturer has already mentioned "Taras Bulba" by Gogol, a book which I have not yet read, but of which I see an English translation has just been published in *Everyman's Library*. The Napoleonic War period abounds in reminiscences of the Cossacks, and in the Baron Munchausen of that period, the Baron de Marbot, vivid pictures of their deeds, and his own, may be sought. As a constituent element of the Tsar's military forces the Cossacks have long been famous. If my memory be correct, I saw the Cossacks of the Guard march past at a Grand Review at Krasnoe Selo in 1890. Of more recent years the Russian Empire, extending its ægis over the mixed races of the Caucasus and Central Asia, has added other Turanian elements to its armies. I remember, at Amu Daryā on the Oxus, when Sir James Hills-Johnes and I were there in October, 1890, General Annenkoff brought up to us a Kirghiz Colonel and introduced him. The motive was plain. It meant: "You are proud of your Indian Army. We, too, have our Tartars, and—you may catch them one day." For the moment that day is over. The Cossack now looks like arraying himself side by side with Indian troops to check Turkish and Teutonic aggression in the East.

Mr. J. F. BADDELEY: I think I can throw some little light on one part of the question that has been raised as to Kirghiz and Kaisak. When the Russians first reached the Yenesei very early in the seventeenth century, and before the date of their first journey across the

Sayan Mountains (1616) to visit the Altin Khan at Ubsa-nor, they found the country on the western bank of the river largely inhabited by various tribes of a people they rightly call Kirghiz. They attempted to bring them under subjection, and exacted *yasak* or tribute in fur; but as the Mongols and afterwards the Kalmuks likewise claimed their allegiance, the unhappy Kirghiz were for more than half a century alternately bullied by all three of these nations. They were frequently at war with the Russians, attacked more than were even Krasnoyarsk and other towns; but eventually trekked south and south-west to the Tarbagatai country and the district west of Issik-kul, where under the name of Buruts, Kamenni (mountain), or Kara (black) Kirghiz, they may still be found. They are undoubtedly near relatives of the Kaisaks, but not identical with them. Of the Kirghiz who wander in former Sungaria an interesting account from personal observation will be found in Mr. Carruthers's "Unknown Mongolia."

Mr. Moon said that Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace's book, which he had taken with him on several Russian expeditions and which he greatly admired, was probably published before Miss Czaplicka was born. He had entered a note in his copy from "The Statesman's Handbook for Russia," edited by the Chancery of the Committee of Ministers (vol. i., p. 123), as follows:

"ST. PETERSBURG, 1896.

"The word 'Cossack' is Turkish, and means a 'freeman,' or 'freelance.' The first Cossacks were settlers of various races on the River Dnieper. . . . Out of this free population in the region of the Dnieper gradually arose a martial Christian Society or Knighthood, calling themselves 'Cherkess' and subsequently 'Cossacks.'"

This doubtless represented the view which it was officially desired to promote or create at that time. The division of Cossacks into Eastern and Western, the former including the Kirghiz, had been unknown to him. Travelling through Siberia in pre-railway days, he was for several days escorted by a succession of Cossacks, who sat beside the driver of his tarantass from stage to stage. These Cossacks had the yellow band round their military cap, but had no Asiatic appearance. At a certain stage his escort forgot, or neglected, to warn a successor, so for some days he was without any such escort and, in consequence probably, was reported in London as lost.

LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF  
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

*CORRECTED TO APRIL 2, 1918*

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THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.

## Chairman of Council:

1917. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

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1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.

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1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.

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1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.

1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.

1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.

1916. COLONEL E. ST. CLAIR PEMBERTON, R.E.

1916. MISS ELLA SYKES.

1917. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.

1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

## Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.



## LIST OF MEMBERS

*The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.*

### A

1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.  
 †Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 1916. Ainscough, T. M., Lindley Mount, Parbold, near Wigan, Lanes.  
 1912. Allen, G. B., Free Chase, Warninglid, Sussex.

### B

1908. Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1. M. of C.  
 1917. Bahrein, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.  
 1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.  
 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.  
 1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.  
 10 1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.  
 1905. \*BARNES, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Woodlands Corner, West Byfleet, Surrey. M. of C.  
 1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W. 1.  
 1910. Beaucherk, Lord Osborne de Vere, A.D.C. to C-in-C. Advance G.H.Q., and Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.  
 1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.  
 †BENNETT, T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.  
 1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W. 1.  
 1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.  
 1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.  
 Bosanquet, O. V., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, Indore, C.I.  
 20 1916. †Bruce, General C. D.  
 †Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C. 2.  
 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.

### C

1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.  
 1908. \*CHIROL, Sir Valentine, Kt., 94, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3. Vice-President.

**30**

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge,  
Millbrook, Hants.
1908. Daukes, Captain C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay,  
India.
- †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1903. \*Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, H. R. C., C.I.E., I.C.S., Off. Commissioner  
N.W. Frontier Province, India.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road,  
Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
1903. \*†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W.1.
1907. \*DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G.,  
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmain House, Rock, Wadebridge,  
Cornwall. Vice-President.

†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.  
1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.  
1918. Evans, T. Herbert, St. David's, Lisvane, Glam.

1907. Fancourt, Col. St. J. F. M., C.B., Deancroft, near Stowmarket, Suffolk.

1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.

1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W. 7.

1916. Fraser, The Hon. Mr. S. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., the Resident, Hyderabad, India.

1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.

1000. Official Version. CVO. C.S.I. etc. The War Office. White-

1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.  
 1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.  
 1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., 7, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11.

## H

1904. \*Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.  
 †Hills-Johnes, General Sir James, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothy, Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales.  
 \*†HOLDICH, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. 7. Vice-President.  
 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

## I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.  
 1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.  
 60 1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.

## J

- \*†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.  
 †Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.  
 \*†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.  
 1908. Jennings, Col. R. H., R.E. (ret.), C.S.I., 20, Roland Gardens, S.W.

## K

1907. \*KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, S.W. 5. M. of C.  
 1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.  
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.

## L

1904. \*LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1. Vice-President.  
 1914. Laurie, W. J. C., I.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Behar and Orissa, Bhagalpur, India.  
 70 1907. \*Lawrence, Sir Walter, Bart., G.C.I.E., 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W. 1.  
 1908. \*Lloyd, Capt. George A., M.P., D.S.O., 48, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.

1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India.  
 1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.  
 1909. Lyall, Captain, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

## M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan.  
 1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.  
 1908. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.  
 1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1.  
 1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.  
**80** 1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.  
 1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.  
 1908. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.  
 †Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Commonwealth Bank, New Broad Street, E.C. 2.  
 1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

## N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 10, Holland Park Court, Holland Park Gardens, W. 14.  
 1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

## O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.  
 1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.

## P

- 90** 1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.  
 †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.  
 1907. Pemberton, Col. R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1, and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.  
 \*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. *Hon. Sec.*  
 †Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.  
 1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.  
 Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1. Hotel Beau Séjour

## R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.  
 1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General,  
 The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.  
 1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.  
**100** \*†RONALDSHAY, H.E. THE EARL OF, Governor of Bengal,  
 Government House, Calcutta, India. Vice-President.  
 1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington,  
 W. 8.

## S

1918. Salvati, Signor M. N., Via Lamarmora 41, Torino, Italy.  
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military  
 Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele,  
 Florence, Italy.  
 1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co.,  
 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.  
 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superin-  
 tendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province,  
 India.  
 1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force,  
 Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.  
 1907. Stokes, Major C. B. 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché  
 at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W. 8.  
 1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W. 8.  
**110** †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.  
 1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.  
 1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.  
 1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.,  
 Shiraz, via Petrograd and Teheran.

## T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.  
 1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 96, Brook Green, W. 6.  
 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.  
 1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., Indian Army, 7th Haryana Lancers,  
 Jacobabad, Sind, India.  
 1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe  
 Square, S.W. 10.  
 1907. \*TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place,  
 S.W. 1. Chairman.  
**120** 1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32,  
 Hans Mansions, S.W. 1.  
 1908. \*TUCKER, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

## V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.

## W

- 1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.
- 1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.  
     †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.  
     †Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
- 1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Calcutta, India.
- 1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

## Y

- \*†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. M. of C.
- 1905. \*Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8.
- 1916. Yorke, Mrs. F., Ladies' Imperial Club, 17, Dover Street, W. 1, and Hotel Cecil, Western Parade, Southsea.
- \*†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1. Vice-President.



# RULES

OF

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his

membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) six Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the the Council.

13a. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman,

exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, *ex officio*, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the

sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

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OF THE  
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. V.

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1918

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PARTS III. AND IV.

PUBLISHED BY  
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY  
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

### Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

### Chairman of Council:

1917. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

### Vice-presidents:

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I.

1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.

1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.

1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

1917. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., ETC.

### Hon. Treasurer:

1917. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

### Hon. Secretary:

1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

### Members of the Council:

1917. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.

1915. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I.

1915. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ.

1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.

1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.

1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.

1917. J. F. BADDELEY, ESQ.

1918. COLONEL A. C. BAILWARD.

1918. CAPTAIN GEORGE A. LLOYD, M.P., D.S.O.

### Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.

## CONTENTS.

THE MOSLEM PROBLEM IN CHINA.

By REGINALD FARRER.

ISLAM IN RUSSIA SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING: PERSIA AND HER

NEIGHBOURS. By SYED AMEER ALI.



## THE MOSLEM PROBLEM IN CHINA

By REGINALD FARRER

At a meeting of the Society on April 17, 1918, with Colonel Sir Henry Trotter in the chair, Mr. Reginald Farrer gave a lecture on "The Mahomedan Problem in China." He said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The first part of my address must take the form, to a certain extent, of apologies, because, perhaps, I have chosen almost too ambitious a title for my lecture ; and what I propose to tell you about to-day is really more the record of my own personal observations and experiences among the various ethnological problems presented on the western borders of China. These matters, the Mohammedan Rebellion and so forth, you will find dealt with *in extenso* in other and more learned works. All I have to give you to-day is, as I say, the record of the troubles and the remarks that a traveller has occasion to make and to meet with in the course of exploration on the rather devious and difficult frontiers that separate China from Tibet—the frontiers of Kansu.

I journeyed from Peking in the very early spring of 1914, and worked my way through the southern borders of Kansu, up to Lanchow, and thus in 1915 up through the Alps by the Koko Nor, and then towards the end of the year down through Lanchow once more to Chung K'ing, on the Yangtse Chiang, and then back to what is called civilization.

Though the province of Kansu is all bravely marked China on the map, you have to remember that all the western side may be described as more Tibetan than Chinese. The map makes hard-and-fast lines, but the populations do not. If I wanted to describe the country to you roughly, I should say that where the mountains begin China leaves off, and that the Chinese, an eminently practical people, abandon the whole country, the worthless Alps, to the Tibetan population, who alone can make use of it.

As you know, the great Tibetan highland breaks down into China in a succession of enormous mountain ranges running, roughly, parallel to each other. (And I would like to say here in parenthesis that the map, like all the maps of Central China, is very largely erroneous.) The mountain ranges break down above the Blackwater River and above the Whitewater River, and then again in successive chains northward,

after which there are no more until you get the further descending range of the K'un-lun up north. All this country is Tibetan. Lower down you get a belt which runs through Yunnan and Szechwan, of the Mohammedan populations on which I am addressing you to-day.

As I told you, I do not propose to give you the history—which nobody knows—of the Mohammedan populations in Kansu, Yunnan, and Szechwan. I have no experience of Yunnan or Szechwan; but the legend goes that in the ninth century one of the Emperors of the T'ang Dynasty imported a body of Turkish mercenaries to fight for him, and that they gave, as mercenaries frequently do, trouble to the Central Government; that, after a great deal of difficulty and diplomacy, that band of Turkish mercenaries was settled on the remote borders of the Tibetan-Chinese frontier, where they have increased and multiplied for several centuries at such a rate as now to constitute a very serious menace to the Chinese Central Authority; for the Tibetans and the Chinese themselves are already on the worst possible terms. And when you add to this a very large population, amounting in Kansu, Yunnan, and Szechwan alone to more than thirty million of people, roughly speaking, who are on the very worst possible terms, not only with the Tibetans, but with the Chinese Authorities themselves, you will then gather that there is material for a very important and very serious cleavage to be made in the Government of the Chinese Empire. Europeans, perhaps, know too little, for the thing was far away and out of our time, of the history of the great Mohammedan Rebellion that filled the reigns of the Emperors Tao Kuang and Hsien Feng, and which was only extinguished, with great difficulty and after incalculable loss of life, during the first reign of the Empress-Dowager. What people do not realize is that all down the western border of Kansu and right down through Yunnan and Szechwan there exists this gigantic Mohammedan population, assimilated in many ways to the Chinese, but always at enmity with them, and always preparing, day by day, month by month, for a new outbreak which will repeat, equal and very likely surpass the appalling horrors of the Great Rebellion which only ended in 1877. Of that Rebellion the echoes still linger, and all up the country above Lanchow you will find the towns and villages, even to this day, still laid waste; and though the flood of the Chinese population is perpetually creeping back, yet it will take many years before the harm done by the Mohammedan Rebellion is wiped out, and before that happy date there is every reason to suppose that a new Mohammedan outbreak may take place. Which reminds me to give you another caution with regard to anything I may have to say to you. My own experiences are confined to the years 1914 and 1915, and though we say that the East and Asia never change, yet in those two years so much water has run under so many bridges, and so much of that which is thicker than water has run also, that who knows but the conditions on the Chinese-Tibetan frontier may be changed by now in a way that

I have not in my power to tell you, because from that very remote part of the world no news ever penetrates, and it remains a matter of doubt whether even the Central Authorities can be as fully aware as they should of the ever-changing conditions attending the problem of the Central Asiatic populations. This I will say before I come to the tale of my own adventures: that when you go up on to the remote borders where China and Tibet meet on the northern frontier, and you come in conflict also with the Mohammedan populations, you then realize that there are, so to speak, three dominant personalities with whom—I am speaking now for 1914-1915—you have to reckon. One of them is old and ailing; the second is remote geographically; the third is now remote, not only in geography, but in history. And each one of them corresponds to one of the three races involved in this vague and troubled corner of the world.

The first is Ma-an-liang, the old leader of the Mohammedan populations; he who signed the truce between the Chinese and the Mohammedans which is supposed only to last for his lifetime. He, though I never met him, is reported to be, as I say, old, and also, I regret to say, stupid; but he is the acknowledged leader of the Mohammedan populations in Western Kansu, and on his life hangs the peace between China and Mohammedanism. Not only that, but so definitely does that peace depend upon his life, that even now, during his declining days, or when I was there, the young bloods of the Mohammedan population were daily sharpening their swords in anticipation of the moment when his death should set them free to fly once again at the throat of the Chinese Empire.

The second personality on that northern border is, of course, his holiness the Dalai Lama. And the third, and, even to this day, you might say the most vital and the most dominant of all, is the Grand Dowager-Empress of China. One has to reach the remote extremities of the Empire to realize what a strong seal that tremendous personality has put upon the future of her race. We read "Lives" of the Empress-Dowager which give the different aspects of her character and diplomacy, but it is only when you get into the hinterlands of her dominion that you begin to understand what power she wielded, and still wields even to this day, though dead and buried nearly ten years since.

The Grand Dowager—to give her the title with which she died—as people do not sufficiently realize, had two distinct and different reigns. During the minorities of the Emperors T'ung Chih and Kuang-Hsu she reigned as Empress-Regent, but in 1898, in self-defence and in defence of the Empire, she executed the *coup d'état* which made her for the last ten years of her reign not only Empress-Regent, but virtually Empress-Regnant. And it is by the record of her last ten years of sovereignty that the Grand Dowager must be judged; and behind all

the petty tittle-tattle, behind the dust and the scandal and personal gossip and the various passions engendered by the currents of her diplomacy, you get the impression, overwhelmingly stronger as you advance in the wilds of the country, of the great and dominant character.

It was under the first reign of the Empress-Dowager that the Mohammedan Rebellion was brought to a conclusion, and it was by the energy of the Grand Dowager in her second reign that peace was restored upon the border and the various troubled populations were brought at last to heel. The years from 1898 to 1908 were marked all up the western borders of China by a great Imperialist outburst, effected by the Grand Dowager. The Viceroy of Szechwan, Jac-erh Fêng, was directed to produce law and order throughout the lawless monasteries and throughout the Mohammedan populations stretching up Western Szechwan and Western Kansu. And even to this day (I am speaking, as I remind you, of 1914-1915, for now that China has once more been thrown into the cauldron, who knows what the lot of the traveller might be?) the result of the firm policy of the last years of the Grand Dowager's rule has been that law and order, perhaps for the first time in history, reign supreme up the borders of Kansu, and that the foreign traveller, armed with a passport from the Central Authorities, is safer and better looked after under the name of the Grand Dowager-Empress than he would be in any European country—certainly now, and I would say even before the days of the war.

I use the name of the Grand Dowager advisedly, because to this moment, up and down the border, it is her name that carries sway. You must not do this, you must not do that, to this moment, because it would be displeasing to the great Dowager-Empress. Wherever you go you meet the name; in every little village and in every little town that authority still holds sway; you cannot escape from it. And though people are well aware that she is dead and gone—for even up there there are changes and chances in the various cross-currents of modern Chinese government—yet it is still the shadow of the old Imperial authority that rules, and it is the memory of those last ten years of the firm and efficient personal government directed by the Grand Dowager that still guarantees the security and peace of the traveller and the native all up and down the Tibetan March and throughout the Mohammedan populations of Western Kansu. Even on the very edge of the border, in the little town of Siku, which is within some three miles of what is called the Tibetan frontier, to this moment, so far as I know, the half-dozen vagabonds, clothed in rags, who represent the Chinese garrison are still clothed and armed in the shabbiest and weirdest panoply of the old Imperial house. Though the population may do homage to the new authorities, yet it is always with the thought at the back of their minds of the old Imperial tradition. I need hardly

remind members of the Society that it was in Northern China that the new Imperialist movement had its strength, and that it was on North China's support that the late President, Yuan Shih k'ai, attempted to rear his perilous and precarious throne.

I talked to you of law and order, but in point of fact the year in which I first adventured up upon the borders of Kansu and Tibet was not a year favourable to law and order at all, for, as if for a forecast of coming events, the beginning of 1914 was marked by storms sweeping across China which, though they were relegated in the papers to small paragraphs of tiny print at the bottom of the main columns, yet, I can assure you, when you were in the country and travelling between storm-blast and storm-blast, were a very serious consideration not only to one's comfort, but to one's life. I am talking now of the White Wolf Rebellion which started towards the close of 1913, and in 1914 devastated the internal provinces of China in a way which perhaps the British public to this moment has no fair idea of. At least, I know for my own part that when I was in London, and even when I was in Peking, the White Wolf Rebellion sounded a curious, rather interesting, rather remote thing that one need never have any personal concern with. But as soon as I reached the centre of China, and all through the six months of the summer, I found that the White Wolf Rebellion was a very serious thing to reckon with. The Rebellion of the Bei Lang started down in Honan. There are many legends as to the personality of the White Wolf himself. There seem to have been, so far as I could collect, like Cerberus, "several gentlemen of the same name," but the main legend attaches to a certain official who was disappointed of the Viceroyalty of Honan, and accordingly started out on a rather aimless rebellion of his own. In course of time that rebellion developed into very large proportions, and it devastated the provinces of Honan and Hupeh and threatened the province of Shensi. When I arrived in Sian-Fu the Rebellion of the White Wolf was sweeping up the course of the Han River to the capital of Shensi, the Viceroy not knowing what to do, the troops half of them disaffected and the remainder not to be trusted from the point of view of courage or adequate ammunition. I succeeded, by dint of mere diplomacy, in leaving the town and escaping westwards towards the Tibetan border, and I was the last foreigner who was allowed out of the gates of Sian-Fu. After my departure the White Wolf Rebellion surged up into Shensi and occupied the whole southern province, with the sole exception of the capital itself, which, like a great walled island, stood intact and isolated in the midst of the surging waves of rebellion.

Meanwhile, I had gone westwards over the Tibetan border into the mountains of the Tibetan highland, secure in the confidence that the White Wolf and his minions would never by any possibility succeed in invading Kansu; that he neither wished to nor had the power. I need



hardly tell you after that that the first thing he did was to do so. Towards the end of April the White Wolf Rebellion swept up round the western corner of the Tsinling Range, passed out of Szechwan into Kansu, and within the first three weeks it laid waste and destroyed twenty-three walled cities in the southern half of the province, and was advancing upon the capital, Lanchow. I meanwhile was safe, or more or less safe, across the Tibetan frontier, where, to give you an idea of how careful the Chinese Government—as I say, by the tradition of the last ten years of the Grand Dowager—is of the welfare and comfort of foreigners, though the Viceroy and all the officials had their hands filled to overflowing with the perils and problems of the White Wolf Rebellion, yet all the time they found occasion to harry the wretched local Governors yet further out of their wits by perpetual inquiries as to two foreigners who had escaped out of the storm over into the borders of Tibet (where yet further storms were raging with which I will not trouble you to-day).

Meanwhile, I pursued my course in and out between the rebellious populations of the border, and the White Wolf Rebellion swept up into Kansu. We now come once more to the Mohammedan population. I have told you that all up the western borders of Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kansu there stretches this vast body of Mohammedans, hating the Chinese, hating the Tibetans, but willing to make common cause with the Tibetans against the Chinese, and sometimes with the Chinese against the Tibetans. It became there a question of practical politics which side the Mohammedan population would take during the course of the White Wolf Rebellion. I may tell you that all the soldiers of the army in Kansu, a very large proportion even of the bodyguard of the Viceroy of Lanchow, are composed of Mohammedans; and for a long time it remained doubtful, while the White Wolves were laying waste the walled cities in the southern province, what course the official troops in the employment of the Chinese Government would take. Kansu is a province really divided into two halves. Immediately south of Lanchow run the last few mountain ranges, the feeble outliers of the great Tibetan highland in which the Hoang-ho and the Yangtse Chiang are born, and thus the northernmost ranges of those mountains are the last defences of the northern half of the province. The White Wolf swept up from the south, ravishing, burning, and destroying; he came into conflict with both elements of the population; he even threatened the great Buddhist monastery of Jo-ni, which, after Labrang and Urga, is perhaps the most important point of Lamaism in North Central Asia. The White Wolf armies, amounting to some twenty or thirty thousand men, poured up through the various passes and openings from Szechwan towards Lanchow and Taochow, Old and New, both of them strongholds of the Mohammedan populations. Yet a little higher up we come to Hochow, which is of all the cities in



Kansu the essentially Mohammedan city, so intensely and essentially Mohammedan, indeed, that no Chinese dare trust himself in Hochow unprotected. Beyond that, again, there are the Tibetans, with the abbeys of Gumbum, Jo-ni, and Labrang. Labrang, though not sufficiently realized, is the important storm-centre of North Central Asia ; it is the largest Lamaist monastery outside Lhasa. It contains at a minimum some 12,000 monks ; it has eight living Buddhas ; it has a corresponding complement of high ecclesiastical officials, and ever since its foundation, rather less than a hundred years ago, Labrang, with its population and its temperament, has been the most turbulent element with which the Chinese have had to deal all up the northern border. Over Urga and over Lhasa the Chinese Government has asserted a dim authority, more definitely recognized than definitely exercised. But Labrang, hidden as it is in the folds of the enormous Alps, is a point of which the Chinese themselves openly own they are afraid. Foreigners have been there, and in the annals of the Royal Geographical Society accounts can be found of the abbey itself. But it is not a point to which the Chinese will allow a foreigner to go, because they know that their power of protection fails as soon as they enter the atmosphere and environment of Labrang. In 1914-1915, in their hostility to the Chinese Government, the Tibetan monastery and the Mohammedan soldiers were making common cause, so that even more than ever Labrang was considered by the Governors a great centre of peril.

In case you wish to understand the Government, I will point out that the Viceroyalty of Kansu has its centre at Lanchow ; the Viceroyalty of the Koko Nor, which is an advance post of Northern Tibet, has its official seat out beyond Dangar, in a lonely little crumbling mud-walled town, within sight of the lonely desolations of the great Salt Sea, which is called the Koko Nor. But very long ago the Chinese Governors discovered that living there was very uncomfortable and very dangerous. Therefore Si-ning Fu, which is the centre of the Governorship of the border, also became the centre of the Viceroyalty of Koko Nor ; that is, the Governors of the Koko Nor live now, or in my time, securely and comfortably within the walls of Si-ning Fu. You were not supposed to know it ; the Chinese Government was not supposed to know it ; nobody was supposed to know. There they lived in the full state of the Chinese Viceroyalty. They have to deal with the Mongolian tribes up north and with the Tibetan tribes all round Koko Nor. The Governor of Kansu has to deal with the Mohammedan problem down the province and with the insurgent Tibetans up the western border.

Meanwhile, the White Wolf Rebellion advanced, sacking and burning and devastating the whole southern province, until they arrived at Minchow. They then moved up north, still unattacked, towards Taochow the Old and the New. There was a legend that Old Taochow

had never been captured in the four hundred years and more of its history, and therefore, to the Chinese mind, that was quite sufficient reason for supposing that Taochow would never be captured. Accordingly, the whole population, Mohammedan and Chinese, for many miles round took refuge within the walls of Taochow on the approach of the White Wolf. The White Wolf army advanced to the gates, met a feeble defence, which gradually became more bitter and more fierce, but was in any case ineffectual; and at the end of April, 1914, the White Wolf troops swept Taochow from end to end to such effect that only one house was left standing in the city from wall to wall, and even that only by accident. The White Wolves destroyed every living thing they could find, down to the dogs and cats in the streets. And the streets were stacked so high with carrion that for many weeks nobody could approach the place. And meanwhile the Mohammedan troops still sat securely upon the mountains to the immediate north, barring advance on the capital, but doing no more. Nobody knows exactly why the city was sacked with so unparalleled a ferocity. The White Wolf Rebellion had destroyed in horrible circumstances many another city, but the destruction of Taochow ranks as the very darkest of his achievements in the way of horror. There remains a legend that many years since some ancestor of the White Wolf, or one of the many gentlemen of that name, was murdered by a Mohammedan in Taochow, and lies to this day buried in the graveyard of the Prince of Jo-ni farther down the river. That and that alone was held by the Chinese to account for the extraordinary ferocity with which the city was destroyed. In any case, the whole town was wiped out; and still the Mohammedan troops on the mountains made no move. However, the destruction of Taochow, which, as I have told you, was a Mohammedan town, was too much for the troops on guard in the province, and at last they descended from their mountain heights; they occupied the ruined city, and within twenty-four hours the White Wolf army broke and scattered as a cloud scatters before the wind, breaking backwards in utter disaster down towards the southern province, where the whole rebellion faded out in complete rout and vanished. The Mohammedans had moved, indeed, too late to save their own people, and it will give you an idea of the temper of that warlike population when I tell you that when all was lost and the city in the hands of the White Wolves the Mohammedans in the town gathered themselves together in their mosque and set fire to it, and there they all perished together, men, women, and children, rather than fall into the hands of the Chinese invaders.

So much for the destruction of Taochow. When I followed on the track of the White Wolf some two months later he had done his worst, and broken away to the south again and disappeared. The whole

movement—and this seems hard for us to understand—appears to have been, so far as one can gather, entirely without motive, entirely without serious purpose. At one moment it was thought that the leading White Wolf might have a serious dynastic purpose, and might meditate establishing a northern throne in China. Hardly had he fallen than there appeared upon the scene in Kansu a candidate of the old dynasty of the Sung Emperors, who, when I arrived in Lanchow in the winter of 1914, had duly been captured and was there imprisoned in a cage preparatory to being sent up to Peking as a present from the Viceroy of Kansu to his cousin, Yuan Shih k'ai.

The first year of my travels, as you may well imagine, was a year of storm, from which, even among the murderous proclivities of the Tibetan monks across the border, one was comparatively safe from the troubles and storms of the Mohammedan and Chinese struggles. But the second year was entirely different in character, and I was able to see more of the Mohammedan populations themselves, and of pacified China in the district north of the Koko Nor.

All these mountain ranges belong to China, though inhabited by Tibetans and by aboriginal tribes; and lying as they do between the great Chinese high roads, one of which goes up from Lanchow to Hami, Urumtsi, and Kashgar, the other from Si-ning down to Lhasa, are so close to Chinese authority that neither Mohammedans or Tibetans are in any humour to rebel against it. We are accustomed, perhaps, to think too lightly of the weight and majesty of the Chinese Empire. In many ways the Chinese Government offers food for ridicule; but we have to remember, and more than ever nowadays, that the Chinese Empire is the oldest civilised force in the world (and if you were to tell me it was the only civilized force I should not quarrel with you). Anyhow, it has four thousand years of definite existence to its credit, and, what is more, there is every sign of its continuing for another four, or forty, thousand years. As somebody has said of the Church of England, it moves with a foot of lead in a velvet shoe; it moves slowly, but it moves exceeding surely. And though Mohammedans and Tibetans may raise their bloody rebellions and lay waste whole provinces of the Empire, and though brigands of the Empire may do the same, yet sooner or later, slowly and inexorably, China flows back again and is never conquered; always returns, wipes out the invader, swamps him in the enormous weight of her population and her organization, and that magnificent machinery which, however corrupt in personnel, is still the greatest machinery of government, that a human race has ever organized. This country is a peaceful land, therefore, by comparison with the mountain countries all up the border, where, as I have forgotten to tell you, you have not only the Chinese and the Mohammedans, but you also have the various little local Tibetan principalities, ranging up and down the border, each

one of them quasi-independent, each one of them nominally owning allegiance to China, each one of them doing as best what pleases itself. People think of Tibet rather too much as they might think of the Papal States; they think of the Dalai Lama as a sovereign ruler over a whole unified country, with a definite hard-and-fast power. In point of fact, the Dalai Lama is no such thing. He is the spiritual head of all who follow the Lamaist or the northern school of Buddhism. But he is very far from being the undisputed temporal autocrat that people imagine when they talk of Tibet as being under his sway. I have found that to my cost, for these monasteries and the principalities up the border, many weeks' journey removed from Lhasa, may be under the authority of the Dalai Lama in matters spiritual, but in matters temporal a letter from the Dalai Lama would be as little use to you in travelling up there as a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Pope of Rome. They run, in the words of the player, their own show, and they care as little for the Dalai Lama on the one hand as they do for the Emperor of China on the other—or, at least, as they did, until the old Grand Dowager-Empress at last demurred, put her foot down, called the Dalai Lama to heel, and reduced the Tibetan Marches into a real semblance of order for almost the first time in the history of the Manchu Dynasty. The Dalai Lama has, of course, his weight in Chinese politics; he is recognized as the head of that large web of Buddhism which runs through the Chinese nation, and, of course, is dominant all up the border. Of himself personally I have little to say. I never had the privilege of seeing him, but I have travelled in his tracks; I have seen the impression that he made upon the population of China, and I have seen the traces of his passage on the roads. For he it known that the Dalai Lama is a Pontiff of such supreme sanctity that he may never pass under a gateway. All the way up from Lanchow to Si-ning Fu you will find the little red gateways decapitated in order that the Dalai Lama might go through without suffering a speck upon his sacrosanctity. When he reached the city of Si-ning Fu, where the walls are vastly solid and the expense of demolishing them would have been too great, he had to be lifted over them in a basket. When he reached Peking the problem became even more urgent. However, he realized that the immediate neighbourhood of the Great Dowager-Empress was no very comfortable place for the indulgence of ecclesiastical airs and graces, and accordingly the supreme Pontiff of Northern Buddhism solved the problem by entering the Imperial city in a train.

Si-ning Fu is situated almost on the very borders of Tibet. There, again, you meet the results of the Mohammedan Rebellion, and you see all through that country the devastation which was brought about by that Rebellion. Of half a dozen little towns you will find five still uninhabited, desolate, and ruined, the remaining sixth gradually creeping back to life under the returning influx of the

Chinese population. You cannot look from the walls of Si-ning itself without seeing in every direction the signs of the destruction wrought in that fearful Rebellion, and all the time I was there, from 1914-1915, we had the sensation of a new rebellion perpetually brooding.

I told you that the truce between the Chinese and Mohammedans depends upon the life of Ma-an-liang, and it may have ended now; but in any case the whole air was dark with the brooding of a coming storm, and one knew that it was merely a matter of, it may be, months or years before once more the forces of the Mohammedans were let loose against the Chinese Empire, with the usual result, no doubt, of appalling massacres, unheeded over here in the story of yet more massacres nearer home; but to be followed in time, no doubt, with the everlasting reflux of the Chinese Empire. You will see at once, without my telling you, what a chance the existence of this population gives to anybody who may wish to breed trouble in Europe at second or third hand by stirring up the Mohammedan population against the Chinese. In other words, you will ask me, probably, what signs I saw of any anti-British or anti-Allied feeling, or of any German propaganda or German feeling, among the Mohammedan population. I tried during 1915, when I had grown aware of the conditions in Europe, to find out what the point of view was that the Mohammedan population took in Western Kansu, and I must honestly say that I found there nothing but a strong Allied sympathy. There was no trace of German propaganda there then; what there may be now I cannot tell you, but I should believe that the country and the people offered little ground for such. The Military Governor of Si-ning, the Military Governor of Lanchow, and the Governors of all these towns, were Mohammedan, and every one showed a very un-Chinese interest in weapons, war pictures, and all the stories one could tell them of our prowess and the general conduct of the war. But of any pro-Turkish, of any distinctive Moslem feeling, of any fanaticism about the holy places, about the German alliance with Turkey, I could find no trace. And therefore I still maintain the hope and the belief that those populations, trouble-breeders though they might easily be, have no particular trouble to breed for us in the present or near future; at least, so long as measures are taken, as I believe they are being taken, to keep them informed of what we are doing and what we are fighting for. Their interest is different from that of the Chinese, whose share in the war—at least, up in those remote parts, as you can well imagine—is but academic and pictorial. The Mohammedans, on the other hand, are as keen as mustard to learn all they can about guns, aeroplanes, machinery, and so forth, and our task is to keep ourselves perpetually in their mind's eye with a definite sense of what we are doing and achieving. In case anybody here should feel, as one very often does about remote corners of the world one does not know, any sort of instinct that we are perhaps



letting those populations slide, I would say, of my own knowledge, that on the contrary very much is being done, and has steadily been done for the last two years, to keep all these peoples thoroughly well aware of what it is that we are doing and what it is that we are achieving.

However, for a final note, I must add that there is no propaganda that will appeal to those people so much as that ultimate victory to which, out of the present darkness, we look forward with more confidence than ever, as towards the ending of our long night.

The CHAIRMAN said they were very much indebted to Mr. Farrer for his most interesting and instructive account of a part of the world which most of them knew very little about. We had heard much this afternoon of the White Wolf Rebellion, and only the previous evening he had been reading of a former rebellion in Kan-su in a book entitled "Islam in China," published by the Inland China Mission. This rebellion took place in 1895, and was so severely repressed that it might have been supposed that there would be but few Mahomedans left. Colonel Mark Bell wrote that in some districts nine out of every ten Chinese and two out of every three Mussulmans were killed. He gathered that the lecturer considered that there were some 30,000,000 Moslems in Northern and Western China. The estimates of population in the Empire varied enormously. A native of Kujua, Abdul Aziz, a learned man who had been in Egypt and Constantinople, and had travelled all about Northern China in some undefined capacity, possibly as a Turkish diplomatic agent, also put the Moslem population at about 30,000,000, but he included the inland Moslems right up to Tashkend and Kashghar, which would increase the total by at least a couple of million. The book "Islam in China," by Mr. Broomhall, to which he had referred, contained figures carefully compiled from data supplied by more than two hundred correspondents, some of whom had devoted careful study to the subject, and it showed varying estimates of the total Mahomedan population in China from 5,000,000 to a maximum of 10,000,000. The writer was himself inclined to accept the maximum; but even this varied very greatly from the figure of 30,000,000 mentioned that afternoon. The only point on which all writers appeared to be unanimous was that the Moslem population of Kan-su was far larger than that of any other province of China. It was to be regretted that definite data were not available, for the question of numbers made a very great deal of difference in estimating the political importance of the Mahomedan population. The native writer, Abdul Aziz, classed the Moslems in Salar, a district in Kan-su, as Turks, and said they were very superior to all the other Moslem races in China, the great bulk of whom were known as Tungans, so called, he believed, as being Chinese converts to Islam. The name was derived from the Turkish word "tunmek," to turn, and



meant those who turned to another religion. If so, it corresponded with the Chinese words "Hui," or "convert," which was the name applied to the Mahomedans by the Chinese.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE said that her enjoyment of the lecture did not entitle her to go away without a critical reference to Mr. Farrer's account of the influence still said to be exerted by the Dowager-Empress a decade after her death. Having lived for a great many years in the vast province of Szechuen, she could say that she never recollected anyone discussing the subject and expressing respect for the Dowager-Empress. The people who talked of the Dowager-Empress to Mr. Little and herself recognized that the Dowager-Empress used her great power for her own advantage and her own selfish pleasure. They spoke with respect of the young Emperor, and praised him, but said that his influence was not great, because all the real authority was wielded by the Dowager-Empress. It almost seemed ungracious, after seeing such beautiful slides and hearing so extremely interesting a lecture, to raise this question. But she felt she ought to express an opinion about the Dowager-Empress and the feelings entertained toward her in China, because there were two tendencies in connection with people of distinction of dubious record who had passed away. One was to hound them down, and one was to exalt anyone who had had a bad name in the world. In the case of the Dowager-Empress, there was a certain party who seemed anxious to cover over her evil deeds.

Colonel A. C. YATE said it had been his privilege to listen to Mr. Farrer in quite a different capacity at the Royal Geographical Society on March 11, when he appeared in the light at once of a botanist and traveller. Mr. Farrer had told them that it was believed that in the ninth century of the Christian era the Chinese had invited Turkish mercenaries to enter their country, and thus introduced the thin edge of the wedge of Islam. The only authority of which he (Colonel Yate) could think as likely to give the requisite data for a conclusion on this point was Yule's "Marco Polo." In occasional dippings into that book he had noticed the frequent mention by Marco Polo of the Christian and Mahomedan communities across which he had come in various parts of China. Of living authorities on such a topic he imagined one of the best to be Sir Henry Howorth, whom he had the pleasure of meeting occasionally at the Royal Historical Society, and whose "History of the Mongols" was a *magnum opus* upon which historians and booksellers alike set a high value. Another authority was Sir Percy Sykes, now commanding the South Persia Rifles at Shiraz, and doubtless looking forward keenly just now rather to doing something to checkmate German ambitions to penetrate into Persia than to elucidate Marco Polo's mediæval wanderings.

The only occasion, Colonel Yate added, on which he himself came

into contact with the Moslems of Western China was when he accompanied, thirty years ago, as Intelligence Officer, the "Northern Shan Column," which, setting out from Mandalay in December, 1887, marched by devious and—in some parts to Europeans—unknown paths to the Salwun River at the Kunlon Ferry. On the way that column met occasional droves of Panthay mule transport. The Panthays are the Moslems of Yunnan, and their mule transport the best trained that he had ever seen. When it was a case of loading, the method was this: Two (or possibly more) men held the prepared load well aloft, gave a signal to the mule, which obeyed the signal by walking of itself in under the load, which was then lowered on to its back and adjusted. On the march each mule moved independently and separately. Thus, if any mishap befell any one mule, one mule only suffered; whereas the Indian transport system of linking three mules together frequently sacrificed the trio to the fault or failure of one.

Mr. Farrer has made it very plain that a Moslem insurrection in Western China is a certainty of the future. The question is, Will this associate itself in any way with the Pan-Turanian project? To this question Mr. Arnold Toynbee may possibly offer some solution on May 22.

Mr. FARRER, in reply, said he thought Mrs. Archibald Little had spoken from the point of view of the Southern Chinese rather than of Northern China in respect to the Dowager-Empress. As the storms of discussion respecting that autocratic lady had died down, she appeared more and more definitely as a really great sovereign. Her errors were great and admitted, though he was somewhat sceptical about the evil deeds with which she had been charged. If she made her mistakes, she recovered from them with a magnificent courage and resource which only really great rulers of the world had exhibited. In Northern China, at least, which supported her great adventure in 1900, her influence went on increasing, as history left behind that outstanding figure, and advanced more and more into the quicksands into which China appeared to be sunk at the present moment. So far as Northern China was concerned, she had left behind a name that would live, and, he thought, deserved to live, and influence all ranks of the people. She would figure in history amongst the great personalities of the Manchu dynasties, which had previously given before her time two of the greatest rulers who had ever directed the affairs of a large section of the human race.

The proceedings terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer.

## ISLAM IN RUSSIA SINCE THE REVOLUTION

At a meeting of the Society on May 22, 1918, with Colonel Sir Henry Trotter in the chair, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee lectured on this subject. In the course of an extemporaneous address he said :

I must ask you to excuse the charlatanism of one who has not travelled among the Russian Moslems and does not know their languages in venturing to lecture upon them. My excuse is that Islam in Russia was, before the Revolution, an unknown field—at least, compared with other fields of sociological study in Asia and Europe. It is characteristic of our lack of knowledge that we do not know whether to call it an Asiatic or a European problem.

This ignorance is due to the Russian autocracy, which crushed all free movement among the various people of that great Empire. As we now know, Russia was teeming with life—with nationalities, parties, classes, sects, with cherished aims and original points of view ; but all this life was held down by the Tsardom. Under the old régime Russia presented herself to the outer world as politically (not spiritually, of course) a military machine, which might be on the right or wrong side, for us or against us, but was essentially a formidable machine, and not a nation or commonwealth of peoples. Thus the Russian Moslems passed unnoticed, although it was obvious that they were bound to be important. To begin with, they were numerically important. There were 19,000,000 Mohammedans in Russia, or hardly a smaller number than the Moslems under the rule of France. Thus Russia was the third largest Moslem power in the world—larger, probably, than Holland with her East Indian possessions, and larger, of course, than any independent Moslem State. There are 16,000,000 Turkish-speaking Moslems in the Russian Empire, or twice as many as in the Ottoman Empire.

Geographically, also, they are bound to be important, because they are likely to be one of the main transitional elements between European and Islamic civilisation. Throughout history there have been two routes, geographically, by which the East and the West have come into contact. There has been the sea route, by which British, French, and Dutch traders have gone to tropical lands and founded Empire in Eastern countries. Most of the contact of Europe with the Mohammedan world has been by sea, and the ocean has served as a sharp dividing line between the two civilisations. When the English

man, the Dutchman, or the Frenchman made their way by sea to distant countries of the East, they found the inhabitants sharply divided from themselves in history, manners, and standards of civilisation. The sea routes during the last few centuries have been paramount in the formation of our ideas of the relations between Europe and Asia—we have thought of the problem in terms of them. Yet all the while there has been another bridge of contact, the land routes, along which differing civilisations have shaded into one another. If the importance of these routes has been very much overlooked, the reason is that they were by way of Russia and Turkey, and the government of both countries being reactionary, the national and social tendencies of the peoples of both Empires were suppressed. But the war, which has overthrown the Tsardom, and will, it is hoped, overthrow Turkish rule over other peoples, will perhaps put the decision of the relations between East and West in the hands of the nations on the land bridge. At any rate, they will influence those relations to a much greater extent than hitherto.

The Russian Moslems at least provide the material for just such a transitional element between East and West as I have mentioned. They include Moslems more Europeanised than any others—practically Europeans of Moslem religion. I refer to those of the Volga region, who are geographically encircled by European civilisation. Again, the Russian Moslems include nomadic tribes and countries which till half a century ago were the most isolated and fanatical of any in Islam, being still in the full dark age produced by the barbarian invasions. In other parts of Russia there are Islamic peoples who have taken a full share in the great economic development of the country. The Russian Moslems include modern industrialists, peasants who are specialists in cotton growing and other forms of profitable industry, and, again, the populations of the Steppes, who are pure nomads. Indeed, you find almost every type of economic life and culture, from the prosperous and enterprising, to that which is wholly untouched by European influences.

After these generalisations I must attempt a rapid survey. The first group of which I would speak are the Moslems of what may be termed the Volga-Ural-West Siberia region. Their centre is at Kazan, and they speak a Turkish dialect. Their number is estimated at four to five millions. Their conversion to Islam dates from about A.D. 950, perhaps a generation before Christianity reached Russia. They were extraordinarily isolated from the outer world by the Steppes and by the pagan Turkish tribes intervening between them and Persia for about four centuries, just as the Christians of Russia were also cut off by nomadic tribes from contact with the peoples from whom they had drawn their civilisation and religion. Friar Rubruck, who visited the Steppes in the thirteenth century, heard of these Islamic tribes, and he

was very much perturbed in consequence. "I wonder," he wrote, "what devil carried the religion of Mohammed thither." This region was converted to Islam something like four centuries before the Steppe to the south of it. But about 1250 the Steppe and Kazan were united under the Mongols of the Golden Horde, and the conversion of the Steppe followed. The Steppe began to settle down in civilised fashion, and the Volga Moslems acquired a Turkish dialect, one which varies from type more than any other, probably because the populations previously spoke Finnish. The result of the rule of the Golden Horde for a period of three centuries was that the Steppe country and Kazan were welded together into a single Moslem Turkish-speaking population. Then there came the Russian conquest about A.D. 1550. From that time these Moslems have been continuously under the rule of a European and non-Moslem State. They are, indeed, the oldest Moslem group to have been continually under European rule, for though the Moors in Spain were conquered earlier by a Christian State, they were either stamped out or forced to emigrate. But the Russians allowed these Tatar Moslems to continue, and so for more than three and a half centuries Europeans and Moslems have lived under one European Government in the region of the Volga.

There are various sub-groups to whom reference should be made. First of all there are the Tatars of Kazan. They form a majority of Moslems in no single province, and only in two out of ten districts of the province of Kazan. They are mostly townfolk, business and professional men, and artisans. Since 1905 they have taken a vigorous part in Russian politics, and have developed a press and literature. Until 1917 they worked with the Cadet party, a fact which shows that they are *bourgeois* in their point of view—Liberals, but not Socialists, nor very much interested in the nationalisation of land. They are, in fact, a prosperous middle-class element.

The second sub-group, the Bashkirs in the Urals, are more backward. Fifty years ago they were entirely nomadic, and they are still partially nomadic. They are more compact than the Tatars, and in the Ufa province they are in an actual majority, though only a slight majority, over the Russians. That is to say, there is a majority of Moslem elements, including the Tatars. They are also numerous in Orenburg, Samara, and Perm. But the tendency is for them to be swamped by Russian colonists, who have settled in these regions in large numbers in the last fifty years. Great tracts of country are now under tillage by the Russian peasants, and the Bashkirs are being crowded out in some districts. So far they have been under Tatar influence. There are many Tatars to be found in the towns. But the compactness of the Bashkirs and the special problem of Russian colonisation have tended of late to produce a different policy among them.

The third sub-group is that of the Siberian Tatars. They are the remains of a sub-Khanate of the Golden Horde. They are to be found mostly in the older towns of Western Siberia, such as Tobolsk, and they are less connected with the modern towns along the Trans-Siberian Railway, where Russian civilisation has been developing latterly. A great many of them may be Tatarised Finns or Samoyeds; but the original Tatars have maintained their identity. They are an important element in trade as well as in Moslem culture. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the earliest political leader of Islamic Russia came from Siberia. I refer to Sheikh Abdurrashid Ibrahim, who is an old man now. He was born at Tara in 1842, and was the earliest Russian Moslem to travel to the different Moslem centres in Russia in the interests of Moslem culture and unity. He visited Moslem centres all over the world, and he was a member of the second Duma.

I now come to another and very different main Moslem group, that of Kirghizistan. This group, numbering about five millions, represents the old nomadic population of the Steppes from the Carpathians to Altai and Thian-Shan. They were probably outside the jurisdiction of the Golden Horde, and only drifted into its camping grounds after its power had been broken. They were the latest people in Asia to be converted to Islam, and the process was only completed last century, after they had come under Russian rule. The Kirghiz are still practically pure nomads, and I imagine that Islam has only touched them superficially at present, while they are touched scarcely at all by European civilisation. Since the end of the fifteenth century the nomads have been crowded out of the Steppes, like the Red Indians on the prairies of North America. The process was begun by the Cossacks, who early in the sixteenth century came down from the region of the Dnieper and made settlements along the rivers of the Steppes. In the seventeenth century, too, the Kalmucks came from Mongolia westward and settled on the Eastern Steppes, and this had a disintegrating effect on the nomadic tribes. In the third place, there has been considerable Russian colonisation from the north during the last twenty years, and especially since the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The movement has been on so large a scale that it is comparable in character with the colonisation of the West in the United States and in Canada. That, of course, has resulted in crowding out the Kirghiz, who have either had to take to agriculture and settled life or to vacate the northern part of the Steppes. They are to be found in the Eastern Steppe still; but if the colonisation movement continues, that Steppe, like the Western, will be covered with European peasantry within, say, the next twenty years. The Kirghiz themselves now belong to the Eastern extremity. They spread to the Volga in the sixteenth century, filling the vacuum left by the Usbeks, under the pressure of the Kalmucks.



The third main group of Russian Moslems is that of the Caucasus, where there are about four million of them. The Caucasus is a second Balkan peninsula, and harbours a confusion of nationalities and religions, hitherto banded together by a military empire, though in this case a Christian empire. The position of the Moslems is best understood by classifying them in sub-groups.

There are, first of all, the Azerbaijanis, forming by far the largest sub-group, and believed by some authorities to number 2,500,000. They are the "Tatars of the Caucasus," a Turkish-speaking population who drifted in from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. They came up the Araxes valley, the highroad of migration from Central Asia to Anatolia. They are identical with the Turkish-speaking population of Persian Azerbaijan, being only separated from them politically by the Russian conquest a century ago. Baku, the great oil city of the Caucasus, is not their home in the full sense. It is not really a Tatar city, for the population is Russian, Armenian, and Persian, together with many foreign elements. The Tatars only share in its cosmopolitanism. But there are amongst them several important men who have taken a very prominent part in Moslem politics in Russia. They include some self-made millionaires. They are less civilised, but more vigorous and also more drastic and radical in their views, than the Kazan Moslems, who have an older Moslem civilisation and greater contact with European influence.

Another sub-group is that of the Daghestanis, who are thought to number about a million. They are very much split up, some of them belonging to indigenous tribes, and some to tribes deposited from the Steppes. They are confined to the North-Eastern Caucasus.

Thirdly, there are the Georgian Moslems in the extreme south-west, in the provinces which Turkey has seized under the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. These people are Georgians in nationality and language. They became converted to Islam after the Turkish conquest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, just as the Albanians were largely converted after the Turkish conquest in Europe. It has been a matter of discussion whether they ought to belong to a Moslem State or a Georgian State, but the Turks have settled the matter for the moment by occupying the country once again by force.

In the fourth place there are the Crimean Tatars, numbering perhaps 200,000, again a fragment of the people of the Steppes, chiefly in the mountains of the coast. They are much outnumbered by the Russians and Ukrainians. The last sub-group is that of the Tatar nobles in Lithuania, numbering perhaps 10,000. They were invited to the country by the Lithuanian Government in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and have since been settled there. They have kept their religion, and form a really important social factor, though only a very

scattered community, in the territory occupied by Germany on the basis of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The last main group of which I have to speak is that of Central Asia, where there are not less than five million Moslems hitherto under Russian rule. I refer to inhabitants of settled regions where there are towns and cultivation of the land. Perhaps about 80 per cent. of the Central Asiatic Moslems are Turkish-speaking, their dialect being closely related to that spoken over the frontier in Chinese Turkestan. The remainder are Tajiks, the relics of an original Iranian population, and speaking Iranian dialects. These are townsmen and cultivators. They have suffered by constant invasions, and notably by the Uzbek conquest at the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the break up of the Golden Horde. Before the Russian conquest, which went on from 1863 to 1886, they were in the full dark age, broken up into a number of petty Khanates, and subjected to constant wars and slave raiding. Great areas of land went out of cultivation, and exhausting taxation was in force. Since the Russian conquest there has been security, a steady growth in communications, following on that remarkable engineering feat the Trans-Caspian Railway, which brings Central Asia into direct communication with Europe, and also profitable specialisation in agriculture. This is especially noteworthy in respect of cotton. The great cotton mills of Moscow are largely dependent on the cotton-growing districts of Central Asia, which were developed for the purpose of enabling Russia to become independent of the American market. Thus over hundreds of square miles within the Russian frontier, and especially in the province of Ferghana, the peasantry have been encouraged to specialise in 'cotton cultivation. Formerly, while the country was insecure, it was so isolated economically that the peasants produced only the absolute necessities of life for themselves, because there was no certainty of trade or communication. But when the Russians developed the railways and paid advances for the prospective cotton crop, the peasantry began to plough up their cornfields and to substitute cotton. It was the State policy to obtain foodstuffs for Central Asia very cheaply from European Russia. Thus, economically at any rate, there was rapid growth and organisation, notwithstanding the fact that Central Asia, as is natural, remains in culture the most Oriental and the least assimilated region in Russia.

From this survey it is clear that the Russian Moslems came under Russian rule at very different dates; that they are widely scattered geographically; and that there are a great many different nationalities, degrees of civilisation, and forms of economic life among them. Sixteen millions out of the nineteen millions speak different Turkish dialects, but these almost amount to different languages. There are three main groups of these dialects, and the Osmanli Turkish spoken in Asia Minor is very different from the form of Turkish spoken in

Kazan. This forms a considerable barrier in communication between the Kazan Moslems and other Turkish-speaking peoples of the Empire. But while there are many divisions, there are certain great principles of unity tending to bring them together. First, of course, there is Islam, in which the ties and claims of brotherhood are still very strong. They are made the stronger by the fact that the Mohammedan world has felt itself latterly to be on the defensive against penetration from Europe. Then another great point of unity has been the existence of the Russian State, with its conquests, its centralised administration, and its railways, not only round, but across the Steppes. There were rough tracks along the Steppes in the old days, but communications in any real sense did not exist before the Russian conquest. The Rostov-Baku, the Trans-Caspian, and the Orenburg-Tashkent Railways have had a great unifying influence. Most important of all was the economic reciprocity which was being worked out before the war.

On the other hand, there are centrifugal principles at work. Though the Russian conquest was fundamentally unifying in effect, the Russian Government was severe, and this tended to create a Moslem opposition. The Government took care to promote ecclesiastical decentralisation, though the Moslem ecclesiastics were allowed considerable liberty locally in organising their own communities. There was one ecclesiastical centre for the Tatars of the Volga, another for the Caucasus, and so on. Then, again, there was differentiation as to military service, which was confined to the Moslems of the Volga-Ural, Siberia, and the Crimea. Some groups were much more amalgamated with the Empire than others, and it was on this basis that the differentiation was made. Again, there are the special interests of various elements to be considered, such as the fear of the Bashkirs and Kirghiz as to the effects of Russian colonisation.

All these factors were more or less in suspense under the Tsardom ; but since the Revolution the various forces concerned have found free play, and have begun to work out the problems affecting them. The first tendency to assert itself was towards unity and cultural autonomy. The All-Russian Moslem movement was led by the scattered Moslems, especially the Kazan Tatars, and others who had been the longest under Russian rule. They naturally felt that Moslem unity within a united Russia was the only solution of their political problem, since they were so scattered themselves that it was only by having a great Moslem block that they could hold their own in the Russian State. Supposing the Moslems more recently incorporated in the Empire broke away, they felt that they themselves would be left as a small scattered minority amongst the Russian population. On the other hand, the unity of the Moslems would make them a political power within the Russian Empire. Thus the Kazan Tatars went in for a policy of bringing the forces of Islam together within the Russian political

system, in order to form a Moslem party in the Russian State, and to exercise a marked Islamic influence on its policy.

These views, shared by many other groups, were especially dominant during the first period after the Revolution. In April, 1917, there was a Moslem Conference in the Caucasus, attended by delegates from all parts. The Sheikh-ul-Islam of the Shia Moslems of the Caucasus and the Mufti of the Sunnis publicly embraced before the whole assembly, amid demonstrations of great enthusiasm. They even began to talk of abolishing the separate ecclesiastical organisations and forming an ecclesiastical, and not merely political, Moslem union for the Caucasus. This is an extraordinary fact when we bear in mind how strong has been the traditional separatism between the two great sects of Islam, in Russia as elsewhere. The Conference passed a resolution in favour of All-Russian Moslem co-operation.

Accordingly a few weeks afterwards, in May, 1917, there was an All-Russian Moslem Conference at Moscow. It was characteristic that the official language was Russian, since this was the only language in which all the delegates could understand one another. The delegates, or one large section of them, went strongly in favour of the All-Russian movement. They appointed an All-Russian Moslem Council, with an executive committee at Petrograd, which has produced a weekly bulletin for the Moslems on the course of affairs. The remarkable thing about this bulletin is that it is not merely confined to the affairs of the Russian Moslems, but shows an even greater interest in general events and in the course of the Revolution. The Conference also established an All-Russian Ecclesiastical Council at Ufa, to be the centre for all the groups, and to have authority over all the Moslems in Russia.

The tone of the proceedings was very democratic, and though the six members of the Ecclesiastical Council were not appointed by universal suffrage, that was laid down as the basis of their election for the future. There was a noteworthy development of feminism. Out of the 800 delegates at Moscow, over 100 were women, and a woman was elected to be one of the six members of the supreme Ecclesiastical Council. Thus we see a very pronounced Liberal movement brought into relation with the idea of Islamic cultural unity within the Russian State. The Conference did not ask for the formation of separate federal Moslem States, because they felt that that would be a barrier to their unity for the work of cultural autonomy. It is interesting to note how sensitive the Conference was in respect of the world of Islam. The leaders broke with the Cadets on the question of the future of Constantinople, since the latter still favoured its acquisition by Russia. They formed a party of their own gravitating toward the Left, though not toward the extreme Left.

But another tendency quickly declared itself, in consequence of the

course of events in Russia, and that was a tendency toward political or territorial autonomy, whether under a federal system or on the basis of complete independence. The first sign of this came from the Daghestanis, who held a rival May Conference at Astrakhan, and complained of the Azerbaijanis trying to Tatarise the Caucasus. As a matter of fact, the Azerbaijani Tatars are at the head of this territorial movement. Their ideal was almost from the beginning a territorial State with complete local political autonomy, including all the Turkish-speaking populations of the Caucasus. Federation with Russia was a subordinate feature; the main idea was that of forming a State of their own, and federation with Russia was put in rather for form's sake. This was obviously a more drastic solution of the Moslem question. But the Bokharans were still more intolerant and drastic. There was a local revolution, and the Khan was forced to agree to a democratic Constitution. Then followed a reaction against the Young Bokharan party, which was given a fanatical turn by the Mullahs and was favoured by the Russian Resident at Bokhara. He belonged to the old régime, and was anti-revolutionary. These disturbances were put down, but they were bound to have a discouraging effect upon the idea of Moslem unity in Russia. The tendency for a separatist solution has steadily won, in consequence of the general course of events. The Bolshevik revolution and acquisition of power has turned the scales all over Russia in favour of separatism and against unity, and the Moslems have shared in this tendency. Even at a Conference held at Ufa last December to appoint a commission for working out cultural autonomy, the territorialists carried territorial resolutions and appointed a committee of their own. A few weeks earlier there had been a proclamation of the territorial autonomy of Bashkiristan. All this is an unhappy turn of policy; but probably it is merely a symptom of the general disorganisation of Russia. If Russia (or parts of her) comes together again in a Federation, the idea of unity among Russian Moslems may revive.

In conclusion Mr. Toynbee read from a German paper (the *Neuer Orient*) extracts from speeches on the great question at issue at the Moscow Conference between the two leaders—Tsalikov of the All-Russian Party and Rasulzada the territorialist from Baku.

The CHAIRMAN said they were very much indebted to Mr. Toynbee for the care and trouble he had taken to collect and co-ordinate the facts respecting the Russian Moslems. He saw from that day's paper that the new cry at Berlin to replace or supplement "Berlin to Baghdad" was to be "Hamburg to Herat," a much longer line. The existence of such ambitions was important, and it was very desirable that we should inform ourselves, and that the country should inform itself, respecting the populations occupying the lands through which

penetration was desired by our enemies. There was an enormous population taken altogether in those lands, and beyond them we had some 70,000,000 Moslems within the Indian Empire. It was noteworthy how large a proportion of the Russian Moslems spoke various forms of Turkish.

Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH said that one statement in the lecture had surprised him. A glance at the map would show how enormous a proportion of Russia was Moslem country. He believed it would amount to four-fifths. While it could be taken for granted that the Moslems were very much scattered over that vast area, and that much of it was very thinly peopled, there were still very large compact bodies of Moslems there, especially in high Asia, and notably in Bokhara. The Central Asian people were Sunni Mohammedans to a man, and amongst them, so far as he knew, there was no scattered Christian Church or any other non-Moslem faith. On these grounds he could not help thinking that in the Russian Empire as we have known it there must surely be far more than 19,000,000 Mohammedans. The inhabitants of Russia might be divided into Slavs and Moslems, mainly Turkish-speaking Moslems. That being so, it was still more remarkable that in consequence of the Revolution there should have been any decided expression of opinion on the part of a large body of them in favour of unity within the Russian State. It was entirely contrary to what they had heard as to the results of the Revolution in other respects. The exact opposite of unity was its most patent political principle. It was difficult to see how 19,000,000 Mahomedans among 180,000,000 Slavs could make themselves quite sufficiently prominent and powerful in the political future of Russia to effect anything very great. Toward the end of his address the lecturer had shown that there were very considerable differences of opinion amongst the leaders of the Russian Moslems as to their political future. One could easily understand that within certain limits really powerful Mohammedan republics might be formed, but that they could have any decided influence over the vast mass of the Russian people he confessed he did not believe.

He would like to ask Mr. Toynbee what had been the attitude of the Russian Moslems during the war. Did they recognise the Sultan of Turkey as the head of their faith, or were they, like the Mohammedans of India, very doubtful indeed about the particular position which the Ottoman Emperor claimed in this respect? We did not find that, taking it all together—though there were, of course, exceptions—the Mohammedans of India in the Army had very particular objections against fighting the Mohammedans of Turkey. Did the Russian Moslems throw in their sympathies with Russia, and did the soldiery amongst them take any prominent part against Turkey? Would they now be prepared to welcome the Turks into that part of Russia which was



overwhelmingly Moslem to which reference had been made in the lecturer's survey? When they considered all these questions, it seemed to him that if anyone in the West adopted the mantle of prophecy he would have a big problem in front of him.

Mr. ISPAHANI said he would be obliged if the lecturer would explain to them the condition of the Russian Moslems before the Revolution. From his personal knowledge as a traveller in Russia before the war, when his visits extended to Turkestan and the Caucasus, he could say that the Moslems suffered from harshness of rule. They were not allowed to educate their children in the way they desired and in the practices of their faith. It might well be that more liberal ideas would prevail after the existing confusion in Russia had been overcome.

Sheikh M. H. KIDWAI said they had heard that the Russian Moslems were strongly opposed to the idea of Russia taking over Constantinople. He would like to impress this fact upon Englishmen present who thought there was no restlessness about the present situation as regarded the Moslem position in the war. In India there were numbers of religious leaders interned because they were said to have had sympathy with the Turks. Mr. Montagu, during his visit, received a great number of telegrams declaring the sympathy of the Mussulman senders with the Turks, not as Turks, but as Moslems.

Mr. TOYNBEE, in reply, said that he had shown that before the war the freedom of the Russian Moslems was very small, and that they were very much suppressed. Their ecclesiastical organisations, like those of other communities not belonging to the Orthodox faith, were very much broken up. There could be no doubt that one general effect of the war and the Revolution had been to evoke in the minds of the Moslems, and especially those which had come under Russian rule in the last century or so, a keen wish to have an independent life of their own, though there were great differences of view as to the proper political means towards this end. They had seen European progress, and wished to share therein on their own lines and in accordance with their own culture. They wished to retain the economic results which had flowed from European organisation. Generally speaking, the attitude of Islam toward Europe had been very much that of Japan.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE anniversary meeting was held on June 26. Owing to the absence of Colonel Sir Henry Trotter through illness, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich took the chair. The annual report, read from the chair, was as follows :

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1917-18.

The Session of 1917-18, during which, notwithstanding the war, we have had a series of most interesting papers, opened in October with a lecture by our Chairman, Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, entitled "The Amir Yakoub Khan and Eastern Turkistan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," a concise account of the history and geography of a little-known part of Central Asia. In December Colonel A. C. Yate gave a paper on a subject of peculiar interest at the present time, "Britain's Buffer States in the East." Miss Estelle Blythe in February read a delightful paper on "Palestine: Its Past, Present and Future." In March we had a most instructive address by Miss M. Czaplicka on "The Evolution of the Cossack Communities," illustrated by lantern-slides showing different types of Cossacks. The April lecture was given by Mr. Reginald Farrer—most interesting and instructive—on "The Mahomedan Problem in China," and, in May, Mr. Arnold Toynbee's address on "Islam in Russia" was full of information. The last lecture of the Session will be given in June by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali on "Persia and her Neighbours." There has been a good attendance at all the meetings.

The following four new members have been elected during the year: The Political Agent, Bahrein, Mrs. Davis, Mr. G. Herbert Evans, and Signor M. N. Salvati. The Council regret to report the loss by death of Colonel St. J. F. M. Fancourt, C.B., and Mr. G. R. Allen. The Society has also lost by resignation the following members: The Viscount Bury, Mrs. F. A. Crow, Sir Walter Lawrence, Mr. John Murray, Mr. E. J. Salano, and Colonel J. K. Tod.

The Council much regret the loss of their Secretary, Miss Hughes, who held that post ever since the formation of this Society, but resigned on her marriage in November, 1917. Much of the success of the Society has been due to her excellent work, and the members of the Council, past and present, who have been so long and pleasantly associated with her had the gratification of showing their appreciation

of her services by subscribing for the presentation of a small wedding-gift. Miss Phillips, Assistant Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, was appointed in her place.

The year has again happily ended without a deficit, there being a balance of receipts over expenditure of £22 7s. The total expenditure was £109 7s. 1d. The statement of accounts is appended.

New rules were passed at a special meeting in February relating to the appointment of an Hon. President, and regulating the position of the six Vice-Presidents. Under the new Rule 13 the Hon. President is elected by the Council, and holds office for five years, and is then eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents are elected by the Council, and hold office for four years, two retiring annually by rotation, being ineligible for re-election until the expiration of one year; but this arrangement will not come into force until the general meeting of 1919.

Lord Curzon, on being approached, most cordially accepted the new office of Hon. President, to the great satisfaction of the Council.

Under Rule 23, Sir Hugh Barnes, Sir E. Penton, and Mr. T. J. Bennett retire, and Colonel E. Pemberton has resigned his position or the Council; the three former gentlemen are recommended for re-election, and Colonel A. C. Bailward is proposed to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Colonel Pemberton.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his regret that their President, Sir Henry Trotter, was very ill, and that it was doubtful whether he would be able to resume his work amongst them. That meeting ended the 1917-18 session, and they earnestly hoped that before their three month's vacation was over they would find he would be able to return to them. On his proposal a vote of sympathy with Lady Trotter in her trouble was carried.

The report was adopted, and its recommendations as to the election of members of Council for the ensuing session were agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said the distinguished gentleman who was about to address them on Persia was not altogether a stranger to the Society. Many of them must know him as a great Orientalist, and a very close observer of the peoples and policies of the East. The paper would show him to be master of his subject, and would carry the authoritative weight to be expected from him.

The Right Hon. SYED AMEER ALI then read the following paper:

#### PERSIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS.

On two previous occasions you did me the honour of inviting me to read a paper, which, owing to pressure of public duties, I was unable to do. I am happy to be able this evening to make amends for my former default. Persia, which forms the subject of my present address, is at this moment engaging a great deal of attention, and if I do not succeed in stimulating a keener interest in her fortunes among

well-informed and cultured circle as the Central Asian Society, you must put it down to my deficiencies in handling it.

The great Empire of the Chosroas, which stretched at one time from the land of the Five Rivers to the shores of the Mediterranean and even beyond, has now shrunk, comparatively speaking, into a small kingdom. Even thus she is of unfailing interest to both scholar and statesman, from her past history and existing potentialities. Situated in the middle of Asia, the home of a particularly gifted people, who, in all the vicissitudes of their country, have never lost their national entity or characteristics, she has always exercised a powerful influence on the development of the Western world. In the domain of religious thought, for example, the cult of Mythra spread from Persia into Europe, and wherever the Roman legionaries went they carried with them from the valley of the Euphrates this worship of the Sun-god. Under Diocletian it became the dominant cult of the Roman Empire, and appears to have found its way into countries so far away from the centre as modern Yorkshire and Cheshire, where even to-day effigies and figures of Mythra hunting the bull may be found in sufficient numbers to excite the wonder of the student of history. And we know how vastly Jewish conceptions were affected when they came in contact with the followers of Zoroaster. In the fourth century of the Christian era the Persian Mani promulgated a new version of the old philosophies. To Manichæism is traced the doctrine of sacramental grace and other esoteric dogmas. It gave birth to Paulicianism, which was persecuted with such fury by the Court of Byzantium. The Paulicians were the progenitors, as we know, of the Albigensis, whose doctrines gave birth to Lollardism. One might say with considerable truth that Modern Europe in its religious and philosophical conceptions has borrowed much, though it acknowledges little, from the doctrines of Manes or Mani, the Persian. Nor have the Manichæan ideas left untouched even the iconoclasm of Islam, for most of the Gnostic sects that are to be found in Islam have received their inspiration from Mani's conceptions.

In the department of administration the Sassanide sovereigns, those benevolent despots, created a revenue system which was afterwards copied by the Saracenic Caliphs, who shaped and developed it to such a remarkable degree as to make it a model for posterity. From the Caliphs it was borrowed by the Ghaznevid sovereigns, and thence introduced into India under the Great Akbar; and it forms to-day under British rule the best developed system of revenue administration.

The whirlwinds of conquest that have passed over Persia never destroyed the kernel of the race, they seem only to have touched the surface; the political entity was lost under the onslaught of the invader, but the people continued with wonderful tenacity their hold on national life. It is one of the marvels of history that the Persians have

always conquered their conquerors. Even in the lifetime of Alexander the Macedonian horde became a Perso-Hellenic amalgam; the Saracenic conquest caused only a short-lived displacement. For in less than a hundred years Persia had recovered her vitality, and the Abbasside Caliphs ruled their vast empire with the help of Persian ministers. The Mongol avalanche fell over Western Asia in the thirteenth century, and destroyed in its course all civilized life in the countries over which it swept; but before four generations had passed Persia recovered her vitality, and Persian culture, Persian thought, and the Persian language dominated the Courts of the Mongol sovereigns and the palaces of Mongol chiefs and magnates.

Of the culture of Persia and its influence on the development of the neighbouring nations I have spoken in a paper I read to the Persia Society in 1912. It is hardly worth while going over the same ground here. But to judge of the place Persia holds, shrunk as she is, among the nations of Western Asia, it is necessary to bear in mind that Mahommedan India, Afghanistan, Transoxiana, and Turkey have, either wholly or in part, their culture based on the magnificent Perso-Arab culture which was evolved in the reigns of the early Abbasside Caliphs—the finest product of the commingling of the two races, Arab and Persian. In India, from the earliest establishment of Mussulman power down to the time of Lord William Bentinck, Persian was the language of administration; and in spite of its dethronement by that utilitarian Governor-General, who wanted to pull down the Taj and sell it as common marble, it remained in Upper India the language of polite society, both Mahommedan and Hindu, until the Urdu language attained its full development.

Shah Ismail Sufi, the founder of the Seffavean Dynasty, who traced his descent to the Prophet, founded the first Shiah Empire in Asia. He brought back to Persia her national life, and from his time forward we see an intensely strong national spirit animating the Persian people. And the wars of Shah Ismail with Sultan Selim, the first Ottoman Caliph, towards the west and with the Uzbeg Shaibani Khan towards the north consolidated this national spirit in a remarkable manner. The Seffavean sovereigns were loved and respected as national kings; and certainly the early rulers of this dynasty deserved their popularity, for they were great monarchs, under whom Persia attained a prosperity and power equal to the best-ruled kingdom of the West. About the end of the seventeenth century Persia was overrun by a rude, rough set of warriors from Afghanistan, and once again her national life and culture were swept away. The rise of Nadir Shah restored the national life of Persia and re-established her military dominancy in Middle Asia, but her cultural life remained under a blight. Agha Mohammed Khan Kajár, the founder of the present dynasty, obtained the dominion of Persia toward the end of

the eighteenth century. Agha Mohammed Khan, though a cruel, almost a ferocious, tyrant, was not a bad ruler. He introduced law and order into the country, which was distracted and ruined by a long civil war.

Although there were several wars between Russia and Persia in the reign of Agha Mohammed Khan, systematic aggression on the part of the great Northern Power, and an organized intrigue to crush all other Western influence, began in Fath Ali Shah's time. A great Mussulman scholar, a native of Jounpore, in Upper India, who visited Persia in 1819, and spent some years at the Court of Fath Ali, has left an interesting record, not merely of this Persian king's entourage, but also of the insidious policy which was at work then in Persia and Afghanistan—a policy which came to an end only with the downfall of the Romanoff Dynasty. I gave a résumé of his account some time back in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*. Returning from Persia through Turkestan and Afghanistan, he spent two years in the Court of Ameer Dost Mohammed Khan. There again he observed the same Russian propaganda at work. On his arrival in India the British Government, in recognition of his learning and services, made him the Curator of the important Shiah Endowment at Hooghly, in Bengal, which he held from 1837 to 1876. And here I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship for nearly twenty years. His writings, unhappily still in manuscript form, are a mine of information on Central Asian politics during the long years of his sojourn in Persia and Afghanistan. His description of Persia and of her King was of the utmost interest. Nasir-ud-din Shah, the third in succession to Fath Ali, came to the throne in 1848. It was under his long rule, which extended to 1896, that Persia felt the first stirring of national life. The year of Nasir-ud-din Shah's accession to the throne is memorable in the history of Europe, as it witnessed the first organized effort of Continental nations to obtain some form of representative government. The European movement could hardly leave Persia untouched. Persians had travelled for many years past into different parts of the world. They had been to Europe, they had been to England, many had settled in Constantinople, some even had studied in Paris and London. In the beginning of his reign the Shah had, in fact, encouraged promising youths to prosecute their studies in Europe. Many Persians had been to Bombay and Calcutta. At this latter place and at Hooghly, which at one time was a seaport town before Calcutta had become the capital of Bengal, large colonies of prosperous Persian merchants had settled, along with Armenian compatriots, who had left their homes in Persia to make their fortunes in the land of the pagoda-tree. All these men, travellers, merchants, students, had learnt lessons of freedom of thought and liberty of government in the lands where they had spent many years of their lives. Their return to



Persia was not often welcomed, and many of them suffered from the jealous suspicion of despotic governors, but, all the same, they were strong elements in stirring up national life. It may seem extraordinary, but, nevertheless, it is a fact, that the expounders of the sacred law, commonly called by European writers the "clergy of Persia," were the principal supporters of the movement for the demand for emancipation from absolutism and the liberalization of the government in their country. And it is still more extraordinary that the Persian women, who might be supposed from their seclusion and isolated lives to be hardly equal to association with such a demand, should help materially to foster, stimulate, and promote this great national movement. Hitherto the command of the Sovereign was practically the law of the land, tempered by the opinions and verdicts of the *Mujtahids* and divines who, as the representatives of the Apostolical Imam, wielded an extraordinary amount of power. The system of *bast*, or taking sanctuary, also protected the innocent and even real culprits from the vindictiveness or the just punishment of the Shah. Equality of rights has ever been a cardinal principle of Islam; it embodies, in fact, the ideals of true democracy, and lays particular stress on the association of the people in the governing of their affairs.

Nasir-ud-din Shah was an able and astute Sovereign; with a strength of character which in better surroundings would have renewed the days of the early Sufis. But before referring to the circumstances which turned his progressive tendencies into aggravated absolutism, I should like to refer to the potentiality of Persia as a factor in Central Asian development.

Persia, though small in size compared to the vast extent of her old Empire, is a rich country—rich in minerals, with large forests especially in the north, large manufactures of textile fabrics, porcelain ware, gold and silver and other metal goods. Her population is estimated at twelve millions, about the same as that of Spain. The people are hardy, industrious, and thrifty; even the commonest muleteer takes a keen interest in the past history of his country. Recitations from the national epic are the ordinary diversions of the common folk. The Persian is a patriot to the backbone; he loves the thorn of his country as a poet says, better than the roses and violets of a foreign land. And the longing of the exile for his home (the *vilait*, from which the now familiar "Blighty" of the British Tommy Atkins is derived) is a well-known feature in the Persian character.

As I mentioned before, at the outset of his reign Nasir-ud-din Shah was all in favour of progress; he founded a great academy in the capital, encouraged students to proceed to Europe for the prosecution of their studies, and even established two consultative assemblies to assist him in the government of the country. The deposition of Sultan Abdul Aziz, and his subsequent tragical death under sinister conditions,

roused the suspicions of the Shah, which were stimulated by the same insidious methods from St. Petersburg which succeeded so well with Sultan Abdul Hamid. Repression took the place of toleration, and the promise held out in the first part of Nasir-ud-din Shah's reign remained unfulfilled. But in spite of all his efforts to put back the hour-hand, the popular desire for a share in the government of their affairs and for emancipation from the grinding tyranny of a corrupt bureaucracy continued to grow. In 1890 the Shah granted the now notorious Tobacco Concession to a European syndicate, and this brought matters to a crisis. At the command of a single Mujtahid the entire people gave up smoking. This extraordinary strike proved wonderfully effective, and the Shah had to abandon his attempt to mortgage the interests of his people to a body of foreign exploiters. The Tobacco Concession was withdrawn in 1892; for the next four years there was a constant struggle between the King and the people, not open, not direct, but yet tangible enough to affect all classes, and causing, especially among the foreign diplomats and exploiters, anxious to keep Persia in a state of tutelage, no small amount of flutter and anxiety. On the side of the monarch were ranged the forces of reaction, repression, and vested interests; on the people's side, the burning desire for freedom from a system of government which was fast driving their country to ruin, was daily growing in force, and threatening an inevitable explosion. The influence of the "clergy," to give them their European designation, whilst encouraging popular aspirations, imposed upon the patriots remarkable self-restraint. In spite of their efforts, matters became acute at the beginning of 1896; and in January, 1896, Nasir-ud-din Shah was struck down by one of those zealots which similar agonies have produced in other countries. The tragic event, which created a most unfortunate impression in St. Petersburg, in Constantinople, Berlin, and Vienna, was used by foreign reactionaries for the purpose of discrediting Persian aspirations.

Nasir-ud-din Shah was succeeded by Mozaffur-ud-din Shah—a monarch of a totally different type. He had neither the ability nor the force of character of his father; his mild disposition, while it made him more pliable to his courtiers, inclined him at the same time more readily to listen to the popular demands. The struggle that followed was due entirely to the forces of reaction which had wrecked his father's reign, and which were still at work. In this extremity it became clear to the leaders of the patriotic party that, unless immediate measures were adopted to open the eyes of the Sovereign to the necessity of a change in the form of government, the country would become so entangled in foreign debts, and the administration so hopelessly mismanaged, as to lead straight to bankruptcy and collapse. This time the blow of the zealot was not aimed at the King; an unpopular Minister was struck down by another *fedai*. The Constitutionalists, who were alive to the

probable effect of this crime on the mind of the Shah to embitter him against the people, unqualifiedly condemned the murder of the Minister, and decided upon a passive strike in the capital for the purpose of conveying to the Shah an emphatic and unmistakable expression of the popular will. At this crisis in her destiny Persia was fortunate in having in Teheran a British Minister who combined with keen political insight and sagacity a singular breadth of view and sympathy with popular aspirations. On the appeal of the patriots he allowed the Constitutionals to use the vast grounds of the British Legation as a place of refuge in Teheran ; traders, merchants, students, scholars, with large numbers of the clergy, flocked to the Legation as a sanctuary, and remained encamped there until the Shah yielded unconditionally to the popular demands.

The Constitutionalist Government which the Shah granted to his people was formally embodied in a Charter, and the proclamation of the news roused immense enthusiasm throughout the country as the opening of a new era in the national life of Persia. This happened in July, 1906 ; a few months after Mozaffaruddin Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Ali Shah. Three times he took the oath on the Koran and by the holy Imams to maintain the constitution inviolate, and to govern his country in accordance with the organic laws on which it was based, and three times he foreswore himself. He attacked the Parliament Hall with his Cossacks, commanded by a Russian officer, murdered many of the deputies, and committed other atrocities. Driven out of Teheran by a combined popular effort, he returned with Russian help, and nearly succeeded in capturing the capital. But the Constitutionals were resolute ; unaided they beat him back, and ultimately forced him to take refuge in the territories of the Czar. And then Russia threw her shield over the foresworn son of Mozaffaruddin, and obtained for him a handsome pension from the Persian Government. Thus, shortly told, stands the story of the Persian liberation.

Mohammed Ali's final expulsion from Persia occurred in 1910. His minor son, the present Shah, was placed on the throne in his place with a Government responsible to Parliament, and an enlightened magnate, educated in Oxford under Dr. Jowett, assumed the regency during the young King's minority. The Constitutional Government—in other words, the government by the people of their own destinies—had now a chance of success in that country. With the exception of a few, who found in the new order of things a block to their own ambitions or avarice, and who, therefore, intrigued with the deposed King or his foreign supporters to upset the new Government, the nation as a whole rallied round the National Assembly, which represented the national aspirations. It was a singularly representative body, which, if its constitution had been sufficiently explained to the

Western nations, and not merely kept secret in the archives of diplomacy, would have evoked the sympathies of all well-wishes of human progress. As I said before, all classes were represented in the Assembly. Cultured Parsees and Armenians of position were members of that body, and they all seemed animated by one spirit—the spirit of bringing Persia into line with the democracies of Europe; and the ecclesiastics were as keen as the laity in the assertion of popular rights. The Persians, like all of us, have many faults. Their enemies were numerous and not few among their own people. They themselves admit that they did not possess what is called the “technique of popular government.” They certainly lacked the capacity of handling finance. Their revenue system was out of order. The foreigners who had come from the Continent of Europe to their help were more bent on their own enrichment than on the advancement of Persia. In their travail they looked round for assistance. Other nations far more advanced in the art of popular government are still backward from many points of view in realizing the true meaning of democracy, and it is no wonder that the Persians, with only five years’ existence of national life, should not have realized the limitations of popular power; and yet it is admitted by unbiased observers that they showed an amount of self-restraint which, exhibited by a young body elected in some hurry for the assertion of popular rights, was remarkable. They first directed their attention to the finances of the country, which were admittedly in perfect disorder, and were bringing the country fast to ruin; to evolve order out of chaos they evoked the assistance of the United States of America, a country which seemed least likely to ruffle the feelings of jealous neighbours, with the result of the loan of Mr. Shuster’s services. A more competent or more honest or more sympathetic helper could not have been found. He has told his own story how he was hunted out of Persia by Russian intrigue in his remarkable book “The Strangling of Persia.”

From the first emergence of the Persian people as a national entity, desirous of enjoying some share of the liberty which was the birthright of most Western people, and of being allowed some participation in the government of their country, the Constitutional movement was looked upon with strong disfavour by most of the foreign elements, diplomatic as well as commercial, as likely to create, if successful, serious obstacles to the ambitions of their States or the exploitations of their nationals. The capacity of the people to govern themselves was despised. Extraneous help to assist in the development of their resources or revenue was either refused or counteracted. Recent happenings in Russia enable one to speak more freely of the designs and ambitions of the Romanoff Empire than was possible even a year ago.

The relations of Persia with the British Empire have ever since the time of Shah Abbas the Great, with a slight intermission at the

beginning of Nasir-ud-din Shah's reign, been marked by a singular friendliness; and the Persians have never relied upon any nation more than the British until the memorable year of 1907, when British diplomacy and statesmanship, forced perhaps by the pressure of circumstances in Europe, took a sharp turn in favour of the designs of Persia's northern neighbour. Russia's encroachments began in the early part of the nineteenth century, and from that day forth, until the collapse of the Romanoff Dynasty, there has been a consistent endeavour on the part of Czarist Russia, as in other directions, to squeeze out the life of Persia. Russia's slow but sure strangulation of this stricken and afflicted country remind one vividly of the process by which the python crushes out the life and afterwards swallows the victim of its appetite.

The first collision between Russia and Persia to which reference might be made occurred in 1800. The Persians were successful at the outset, but met with defeat at the end, which brought about the Treaty of Gulistan, and established Russian rule in Georgia. Russian pretensions caused another outbreak of hostilities in 1826. The Persians, under Abbas Mirza, won a brilliant victory at first, but the parsimony of Fath Ali Shah led to large disbandments of the tribal levies; important cities were bereft of their defenders; many of the Persian governors were bribed; at last Persia was forced to conclude, in 1828, a treaty, politically as well as economically, of the most disastrous character. This is the well-known Treaty of Turkomanchai, by which Russia obtained a predominant position in both respects in Persia.

During the whole of this period Russia, whilst extending in every possible way her power and influence in Persia, was obliged to maintain an appearance of restraint by the likelihood of a collision with England in case she showed her hand too openly. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, which divided Persia into two spheres of influence, Russian and British, removed the checks that had hitherto kept Romanoff ambitions within bounds. And she began at once her disintegrating work.

The Anglo-Russian compact was concluded on August 31, 1907, shortly after Persia had extracted from her King a promise of real national life. In an article in the *Orient Review* I ventured to call attention to the unwisdom of the policy which led England to enter into that compact, and I gave a résumé of Romanoff attitude from the end of the eighteenth century down to 1907, showing one continuous record of want of good faith on the part of the Czarist Government towards Great Britain. The Romanoffs were known not to keep faith even with the people they subjugated. It is no wonder that they did not attach much importance to fair dealing with outsiders.

And only recently, in November, 1916, 500,000 Khirgiz Mussulmans were slaughtered in the presence of their women and children because

they refused to be conscripted during harvest-time. An account of this inconceivable atrocity appeared again only in one English newspaper from the pen of Mr. Phillip Morgan Price.

In 1909, under the pretext that the Russian Consul was in danger, a large Russian force entered Tabriz. A few months later another body of troops was landed in Persia, and marched to Kazvin in order to prevent the Constitutionalists from advancing on the capital to dethrone Mohammed Ali Mirza. In September, 1909, the well-known brigand and Russian protégé, Rahim Khan, attacked Ardebil in the north of Persia; this formed a pretext for sending more troops into Persia. When Rahim Khan was defeated by the Persian Government forces, the Romanoff Government, in defiance of its treaties with Persia, afforded him a refuge in Russian territory.

In the following year (1910) a Persian Prince naturalized in Russia conceived the plan of overthrowing the Persian Constitutional Government; the Russian authorities not only refused to allow the Persian forces to deal with the rebel, but actually fired on them near Kazvin and killed the commanding officer.

In 1911 more troops were poured into Persia, where their treatment of the inhabitants was that of a conquered country.

The December of 1911 will always be remembered by the Persians as one of the darkest in their history. Romanoff agents succeeded in provoking in Tabriz an armed conflict between the Constitutionalist police force of that city and the Russian troops, which was attended with great brutality. In the course of this fight a large number of women and children were killed. The climax was reached on the 10th of Moharrem, a day of great sanctity in the Mahommedan world. Among other enormities they hung the chief ecclesiastic of Tabriz, the Sikutul-Islam, a man who was highly esteemed and venerated throughout Persia.

In April, 1912, the Russians also bombarded the sacred shrine of Meshed.

The hanging of Persian ecclesiastics in Tabriz and the slaughter of innocent people, coupled with the bombardment of Meshed, sent a thrill through the Mussulman world. Elegies were published in most of the Moslem papers in India, where the sorrow at the treatment of Persia was most keenly felt. Russia's object always was to bring about her dissolution, and for that purpose she resorted to every form of intrigue likely to produce disintegration and chaos. Every sign of vitality among the people, every effort to introduce reforms or improvements in the administration, was made a reason for aggression. When we bear in mind that the initial success of the Constitutional movement was due to the support of the British representative in Persia, we can easily understand the consternation of the Persian people at the acquiescence of England in these acts of the Romanoff Government,



and especially in the expulsion of the American financial expert. Now that the Romanoff Dynasty has fallen, Persian hopes for the dawn of a new era in their country have risen high; and it remains for England, who is fighting this great war as the champion of liberty for all small nationalities, to be true to her own ideals, true to herself, and to give Persia a helping hand to make the best use of the free system of Government her people wrested from the hands of a tyrant.

Persia has always looked upon England as her friend and as a champion of her liberty and progress. While Russia was viewed with suspicion, and her advance towards the East was regarded with alarm, England was trusted, and her advice was invariably sought and acted upon. In issuing loans or giving concessions for the development of the country, England was always approached first and her counsel asked for. In 1905, when the Persian Revolution began with a pacific strike, the Constitutionalists sought refuge at the British Legation in Teheran. This in itself was abundant proof of the confidence the Persians reposed in England. The Anglo-Russian agreement, with its manifest tendencies, which soon proved themselves in direct acts of interference and aggression, caused the widest apprehension. The attempt of the Czarist Government to obtain control of the Persian army and finance, and the occupation of most of the northern provinces, were all part and parcel of the policy designed for the final absorption of Persia. When the present war broke out, the Romanoff army treated the part of the country they had occupied as conquered territories.

The provinces in which Turk and Tartar have fought their recent battles have suffered grievously, chiefly from the professed defenders of Persia. And the withdrawal of the Russian troops after the revolution in their country left behind in their wake burning and plundered villages. The loot was often accompanied by the forcible abduction of women and girls.

Persia covets no territories, has no aggressive designs, desires no accession to her present possessions. What she wants is peace—peace to work out her own national life. She sees with sorrow and anguish the gigantic slaughter of the manhood of the world which is going on before her eyes, and she does not wish to be drawn into the struggle by the policy or ambitions of either side. It is to be earnestly hoped that she will be left alone, and that she may escape the vast affliction from which Europe is suffering. Her destinies at the present moment are in the hands of men, some of whom are the best products of what was best in Europe before this war came to destroy centuries of material and intellectual progress. The fortunes of Persia, so far as they are in her hand, are guided primarily by eight men, enlightened and patriotic, assisted by an assembly elected on a broad basis of constitutional liberty. All men possessed of property or business worth not less than £100 have the franchise and the right to vote

in the election of members to the Persian Parliament. There is only one House, and all creeds and nationalities are represented in the Assembly in proportion to their numbers and importance. The young Shah, who attained his majority a little while ago, is a constitutional monarch, carefully brought up during the regency of that gifted statesman, the Násir-ul-Mulk, and seems to possess qualities which might make him a benefactor to his country.

The conditions in Persia, I am informed, are just now verging in many parts on famine. In this, of course, she is not singular; other neutral countries are suffering in a similar way. But it naturally adds to the difficulties of the Government, and makes the people suspicious of all foreign movements, which they conceive as foreboding an aggravation of their miseries and a fresh invasion on their independence. I hear that in Ghilan and Mazendran, Persian provinces that had been seized by the Muscovites, the inhabitants, immediately on the retirement of the Russian troops, formed a federation to resist in the future all foreign aggression. Would it not be a wise policy on our part to encourage and support this national desire to combat enemy designs without giving cause for suspicion against ourselves? It is a question for statesmen to deal with. We hear much now about a so-called Pan-Turanian movement, and the possibility of Persia being entrapped into it. If there is any reality in this alleged Pan-Turanian movement, if it is not a mere red-herring, we must not forget the feud between Iran and Turan, which has lasted ever since the birth of history, from the days when Rustam and Isfandiyar battled against Afrasiáb, the national hero of Turan. There is as little likelihood of Iran being drawn into the Pan-Turanian movement as there is of the Celt becoming merged in the Saxon.

I do not think it is intended to confine the ideal of "a commonwealth of free nations" to Europe alone. And I trust, in the interest of the British Empire, Persia will find in it, and on the Amphictyonic Council it is proposed to establish after this war, the place she deserves from her history, her economic potentiality, and from the vigour and self-restraint with which her people have won their liberty far more than many of the Balkan nationalities. If Persia is treated with consideration and generosity, if the feelings and sentiments of her people are carefully regarded, if her independence is scrupulously respected, I do not dream for a moment that any outside intrigue would shake her fidelity to England. What appears to me essential—a view shared by a distinguished Moslem friend—is the necessity of avoiding even the semblance of an attempt to "Egyptianize" Persia (to borrow a French phrase), and of not repeating the mistake, which was common twenty-five years ago in the Native States of India, of allowing British officers an undesirable and impolitic latitude in their treatment of the Native Government.

England possesses a great asset in her vast Mussulman population, who have proved their steadfastness and loyalty in every sphere. A wise statesmanship and thorough understanding can employ this moral force most beneficently in the consolidation of her hegemony in the Eastern world, by establishing a cultural federation, under her guidance, of the Moslems within the zone of her influence. No competitor possesses this great asset, and posterity will regret if she allows herself to miss her great opportunity.

At this moment I gather from the papers a terrible and destructive class-war is being waged in the mountains of the Caucasus, which Shamyl defended with such heroic valour against Romanoff invasion.

Men whose greed and hatred have been stimulated by the grinding slavery of centuries or by imported racial bitterness are now fighting to destroy the descendants of Shamyl's followers. In spite of a lurking affection for the men who pulled down Czarism from its pedestal, the Persians do not want their country to be infected by Bolshevism. It would be a far worse calamity than Romanoff domination. But now that the Dynasty is dead, we hope we may also be able to say of the Anglo-Russian Convention, *Requiescat in pace*.

The CHAIRMAN said they had had a most enlightening paper. It was a great pity that the British public did not know more of the political conditions prevailing in Persia, and of the efforts of her sons to maintain a national existence. His only criticism of the paper was that it was so packed with information that its full value could not be properly appreciated until it was seen in printed form and considered at leisure.

Disastrous as the outcome of the Russian Revolution had been to the Allied cause, we might at least gather some shreds of consolation out of what they had been told by the learned lecturer as to the disappearance of the Romanoff Dynasty. They believed it had disappeared never to return. But whilst all their sympathies were with a nation like Persia (which could hardly be called a very small nation) in struggling for liberty and self-determination, as it was called, we did look in this country to the small nations to help themselves as far as they could. Persia always reminded him of a derelict ship tossing on the wide open sea, and waiting for a ship under some other flag to tow her into port. Persia could not be called a military power, determined to defend her own liberties and to help herself. The lecturer did not refer to the boundaries of Persia, but, as a matter of fact, she was a well-protected country in this respect. On the north she had the Elburz Mountains, which were crossable, no doubt, but which could easily be made strongly defensive. On the east there was more open country, and an interchange of hostilities with Afghanistan was not rendered difficult by natural conditions. To the south she

had the sea everywhere, and in the south-west there was a chain of very difficult mountains, inhabited by very rough and difficult people, of whom the Bakhtiaris were the principal. One of the easiest lines of approach was on the extreme north-west, where the first railway ever constructed in Persia now connected Tiflis with Tabriz.

It might have been thought that the Persians would take great interest and pride in their first railway. Tabriz in itself was a very important town, probably one of the most important towns in the whole of Persia as a mercantile centre. And yet they heard that the Turks had walked in and taken possession, apparently without any particular opposition on the part of the Persians. Whilst we ourselves were very much engaged in Mesopotamia, the Turks were swarming over the parts of Persia within reach of them; and when they were turned out, it was not so much by the efforts of Persians themselves as by that of the Russians, who had proved themselves such unpleasant neighbours. He thought Persia had something to learn as to the first principles of national evolution. Any evolution which was to end in self-government, progress, and prosperity must be based on security, and security in these days was only to be gained by means of armed strength. Therefore Persia must rely on her own exertions in securing herself from external aggression. There could be no doubt that she had excellent material to work upon. From personal observation he could testify that the people were of magnificent physique, with plenty of capacity in mind and muscle. He regretted to think that under successive Governments, which had treated them hardly and harshly, they were more or less chicken-hearted. That was the only word for it. He hoped that in course of time Persia would regenerate herself, not only from the civil, but also from the military point of view. We had not reached the millennium yet, and he was quite satisfied that no small nationality would be able in the future to hold its own that was not prepared to take up the cudgels in its own defence.

In conclusion, the Chairman asked the lecturer to give them some idea of the real nature of *bast*, or "sanctuary," a custom which was at least as old as the Old Testament in the time of the Judges. It was known more or less, he supposed, in all Eastern countries, though he could not say he recollected anything of the sort either in India or in Afghanistan. In Persia one part of Meshed was *bast*, and no doubt there was a fine assembly there of criminals from all parts of Persia. On the coast a British flagstaff or a British gun were *bast* for the escaped slave, who had only to touch the flagstaff or the gun to be a free man—at least, so long as he remained within the British jurisdiction. In this connection Sir Thomas related a story of the result of a controversy, during the delimitation of the Perso-Afghan frontier, between the Persian representative and the local Persian Governor. An outbreak of turbulence led the latter to issue an edict

that every member of the Persian delegation and soldiery was to be bastinadoed ; but when he endeavoured to have this order carried out, the men gathered round a cantankerous old mare belonging to a young British officer (now General Sir Percy Sykes) and claimed *bast*, with the result that the threatened punishment was not inflicted. It seemed to him at the time that this amusing incident was a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of salvation by *bast*.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said he did not know that he entirely agreed that the lecturer had used quite the fitting word when he described the Persians as most patriotic. Wherever one went in Persia one would always find the Persian goose in the eyes of the Persian to be not only a swan, but a super-swan. The people had the most exalted idea about anything that belonged to Persia and of Persia itself. But, after all, was that real patriotism? Was not willingness to suffer and die for one's country the real test? There was amongst the Persians intense pride in their country, and a feeling that there was no country to equal it; but they did not seem to get beyond that. He agreed that these sentiments were in many ways highly commendable, but they did not wholly cover the definition of patriotism.

The lecturer had given a very glowing account of the Medjlies and had referred to its actions at the time when the Regent was in power and at present. Now his own recollection was that as soon as the Regent got out to Persia he dissolved the Medjlies, and ruled the country by himself. The lecturer had said the Medjlies was sitting now; but his information was that it had not been sitting for a long time, and that Persia was governed by its Ministers. He was credibly informed that, as these Ministers were not very sure of their retention of office, they were making money as fast as they could. [The lecturer: That is not the case.] He was glad to hear that. But he was driven to the conclusion that the Medjlies was more or less of a name in Persia at the present time. They all knew that changes were rapidly made amongst Ministers in Persia, and there was a temptation to those in office to make the most of their opportunities while they had the chance.

The lecturer had told them of atrocities committed by the Russians from 1911 onwards. These were deplorable; but he would remind the audience that at that time, in the absence of protective measures from without, the greatest insecurity prevailed within. In South Persia all the roads between Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, Bunder Abbas, and Kirman, were absolutely in the hands of robber tribes; British trade was held up, and enormous losses were inflicted on all the merchants concerned by the unsettled condition of things. In the north, where the Russian troops were, although it may have been unpleasant to the Government, still the Persian merchants were, he believed, thankful

for the Russian protection, because they were able to get their goods through with safety, and trade went on unmolested. However much we might regret what was done by the Russians, it could not be denied that the Persian traders benefited by the Russian occupation.

Well, the Russians had gone, and at Tabriz the Turks had taken their place. But as the Chairman had said, they had no information that the Persians had opposed this aggression. We in England had always done our best to protect Persia from outside interference. All this time, throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, we had defended her from Afghan incursion. Many a time, when talking over the camp fires on the borders of Seistan and Afghanistan, Afghans had said to him, "If it were not for the British Government, we would be over the border to-morrow," and so they would. He hoped we should continue to protect Persia, and do all we could to maintain the integrity of the country, both north and south and east and west. He was glad to hear from the lecturer that in the provinces of Ghilan and Mazendran the people had formed a federation to resist foreign aggression. He hoped the movement would grow. The great difficulty was that the Persians usually did so little to help themselves, and were always crying out to other people to help them, and complaining of other people for not doing so. The Persians generally, and notably the muleteers, were men of good physique, and in the past had been able to defend their country. The Persian Cossacks were a fine force, and he hoped the South Persia Rifles would become a good force; but what was wanted was a great indigenous movement for self-defence. The use of the Persian flag on the Caspian Sea was prohibited by the Treaty of Turkomanchai, and we should do all we could to help Persia in this and other matters. He would like to see Persia with her own ships on the Caspian, and taking her place as an independent power in the world. (Cheers.)

Mr. ISPAHANI said that Colonel Yate's experience of Persia was perhaps twenty years old, and the learned lecturer, while very sympathetic towards Persia, was without personal knowledge of the country. He was misinformed in stating that the Regent Nasir-ul-Mulk dissolved the Persian Medjlies. He was in Persia during the period, and could speak from personal knowledge. If it did not exist afterwards, this was probably due to the machinations of Russia. Past history showed that up to our own times Persia was a real military power, and she successfully defended herself against aggression only sixty years ago. But it must be admitted that since then Persia had fallen into a trap for reasons explained by the learned lecturer. When Russia marched a force into the country, she did so simply to compel the Shah's Government to ratify the Convention of 1907, as he could testify from personal knowledge. If Persia had not agreed the Russian troops would have occupied Teheran, and there would be no



independent Persia to-day. The fact was the country had not been given a dog's chance. When Mr. Shuster was in Persia, he told him more than once that he could do nothing effective because of Russian intervention and want of finance. If Great Britain had followed the same sympathetic policy towards Persia as she did towards Afghanistan, by giving the latter country moral and material help to consolidate its independence, Persia to-day would have been the greatest bulwark of the British Indian Empire. For forty years Afghanistan has been pampered, and British gold has poured into the country and British moral support has been at its disposal, whereas poor Persia has been like an old rag left to be pulled to pieces by all and sundry. As to the alleged chaos in the south, in the absence of British intervention, speaking as a merchant, he could say that the loss from pillage at that time did not amount in the aggregate to more than 5 per cent. of the total trade. Colonel Yate had said that Russia made the northern routes safe. They did so in prosecution of their own selfish designs. There were robber tribes in the mountains, no doubt, but the Persian muleteer was a reliable man. He would take goods 300 to 400 miles across country, and have every opportunity of abstracting some of them, but would deliver them intact. This might be compared with what went on in India, where railway thefts often occurred even from sealed trucks. He would say of the Persians, Give them a dog's chance, and they will show themselves capable of self-defence.

Colonel A. C. YATE said the last speaker did not reach the real point—that of why Persia was not defending herself at the present time. It should be the natural instinct of any people so self-appreciative as Colonel C. E. Yate had described the Persians, to defend themselves and their country. Like Mr. Ispahani, he had studied Persian history, and he could trace it back in detail, at any rate, to the beginning of the last century. He hoped Mr. Ispahani remembered that it was one British officer in Herat who was the main instrument in the defeat of the Persian Army when in 1836, egged on by Russia, it attacked the Afghans, and that British officers led Persians to victory against the Russians in 1828, and again later, when the accession to the throne of Mahommed Shah was a signal for rebellion. It was Lindsay-Bethune who crushed the rebellion. Sir Charles McGregor in "Khorasan" tells a touching story of the pride with which old Persian officers looked back to the prowess of the Persian Army led by Christie and Bethune. No one, more strongly than the speaker, had advocated the sending by the British Government of the nucleus of a force into Southern Persia such as might enable that part of the country to pacify and to defend itself. Finally, Sir Percy Sykes and others were sent there for this purpose. He gathered that, owing to the general disorganization, comparatively little had been done in South-Eastern Persia, and that the influence of the South Persia

Rifles was less than we had hoped it would be. He was told that it took twenty-five days to communicate between Bushire and Shiraz. That fact gave an idea of what the condition of the roads must be. They now had the Turks in Tabriz, and there was no news that the Persians had made any stand in self-defence. India had taken certain notable steps which the Censorship did not wish made public.

Mr. Ameer Ali, in his most fascinating lecture, has recalled the glories of Rustam and Sohrab. He (Colonel Yate) declined to believe that Iran of to-day could not, if given a free hand, produce a second Rustam, and keep Turan at bay. Whatever temptations Berlin, using Pan-Turanian ambitions as its instrument, may throw in the way of Persia—and they are, as the Press shows, being freely thrown—the Iranian tradition, the sanctity of the Shi'a faith, and the memory of Britain's long-standing (ever since about 1798) friendship should render Persia proof against them—a state of "proof" which was stoutly reinforced by the British Army of the Tigris. He knew only too well the brutality of the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan from 1910 onwards. He agreed with the lecturer's picture of the manner in which Mr. Morgan Shuster was hampered in his work, and recognized fully that the Russians had from the outset infringed the terms of the Convention of 1907. He recalled a conversation he had with Lord Curzon in or about 1910, when no one foresaw the Russian Revolution. Lord Curzon said that the Russians, having occupied Azerbaijan, would never leave it. He (Colonel Yate) expressed surprise that Great Britain, which had been so truly friendly to Persia, should be ready to wink at this departure from the 1907 Agreement, though he recognized that the matter was then in the hands of a Cabinet which was neither that of Lord Lansdowne nor Lord Curzon. Recently Persia had repudiated the Agreement—although it could easily be shown that it had materially benefited Persia—and they could now say with the lecturer in regard to it, *Requiescat in pace*.

When the Persia Society was started, Sir Mortimer Durand gave the first lecture before it, and entitled it "The Charm of Persia." That dealt with the æsthetic charm. To-day Mr. Ameer Ali had initiated them into the historic charm of the kingdom of the Sassanian, Saffavean and Kājār Dynasties.

During the discussion, the Chairman had invited a further definition of what "bast" (*i.e.*, sanctuary) meant in Persia. He instanced the case of a Persian who took "bast" with Sir Percy Sykes' roadster. The stables of any personage of high position in Persia are "bast," and therefore it was not the roadster, but the stall in which it stood, that afforded a secure refuge. Had I time, I would like to investigate this custom; as it is, I will for the present only quote a passage from Goldsmid's "Eastern Persia," vol. i., p. 182: "The stables, often a place of great sanctitude: the stables of the Shah and the British

Minister at Teheran are, for instance, privileged places, where all criminals can securely take refuge."

Mr. AMEER ALI said he wished to avoid, in reply, all controversial matters so far as possible. With reference to the question of the Chairman regarding the practice of *bast*, he had only to say that it had existed amongst all the Western Asiatic nations in ancient times; and the Persians had received it as a legacy of the past. The word *bast* was derived from *bastan* or binding. When a man bound himself to a sacred object, it was considered an act of sacrilege to cut the rope in order to arrest the culprit. In Persia the institution had lasted, like the observance of New Year's Day on March 21, down to our own times. There was a sanctuary at Meshed, at the shrine of Imâm Ali al-Reza, the eighth Imam of the Shias, an ancestor of his own. As the Chairman had mentioned, a flagstaff or a gun belonging to the Sovereign provided a place of sanctuary.

He hoped the Persians would take to heart the Chairman's admonition to raise an army for their own defence, and that they would be permitted to do so. However willing they might be to defend themselves, their ability must depend on circumstances and considerations over which they had no control. During the Romanoff domination they were never allowed to raise an army, for Russia imposed on Persia, as on other neighbouring countries, selfish limitations on their defensive power. Colonel Yate knew that it was Russia's object to cripple, not only Persia's defensive power, but also her economic resources, in order to direct everything into her own hands. If the trade was made safe, it was for no purpose that was agreeable to the development of Persian resources. Colonel Yate also knew how onerous were the terms of the Treaty of Turkomanchai, and when they talked of Persia not being able to raise an army or to set her house in order they ought to remember that for a long series of years Persia had been crippled (indeed, there was no other word for it but emasculated) by the remorseless northern neighbour. They could not expect the country to do wonders within three or four years. Give them the same chances as it was proposed to give to European nations for self-expression, and let us then see if Persia did not take advantage of them. He could not imagine that any other nation could have succeeded better in the conditions in which Persia was placed.

In respect to Colonel Yate's charge of conceit against the Persians, he would remind him that there were other people besides Persians who took immense pride in themselves, and this had been a feature in the march of history. The arrogance of Athens, and the proud boast *Civis Romanus sum*, have their modern counterpart. "Modern Athens," not the Athens of King Alexander, suffers equally from overweening pride. Neither England nor the Continent is free from that characteristic. The American also considers himself a very superior person.

Nor could the test of patriotism Colonel Yate suggested be considered inapplicable to Persians, for not a few of whom, as his paper had shown, had laid down their lives for the liberty of their country. The zealots who had resorted to the crime of assassination at the time of the murder of Nâsir-ud-din were mistaken in their methods, but they were utterly careless of their own lives if they could aid the cause of their country's freedom. Persia was not the only country where the Cabinet, rather than the Parliament, became powerful in difficult times. Even in the West, among people long accustomed to govern themselves, they saw Parliaments increasingly impotent and the Cabinets taking power on themselves. In the most democratic countries in time of war the Cabinet became all-powerful. It seemed to him that Parliaments in the West as well as in Persia required stiffening up. He earnestly hoped that the Chairman's recommendation that the Persians should organize for their own defence and try to drive out their enemies, whether Turks or anyone else, would be carried out. And he hoped their efforts in this direction would be supported by our Government. (Cheers.)

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

# CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1917

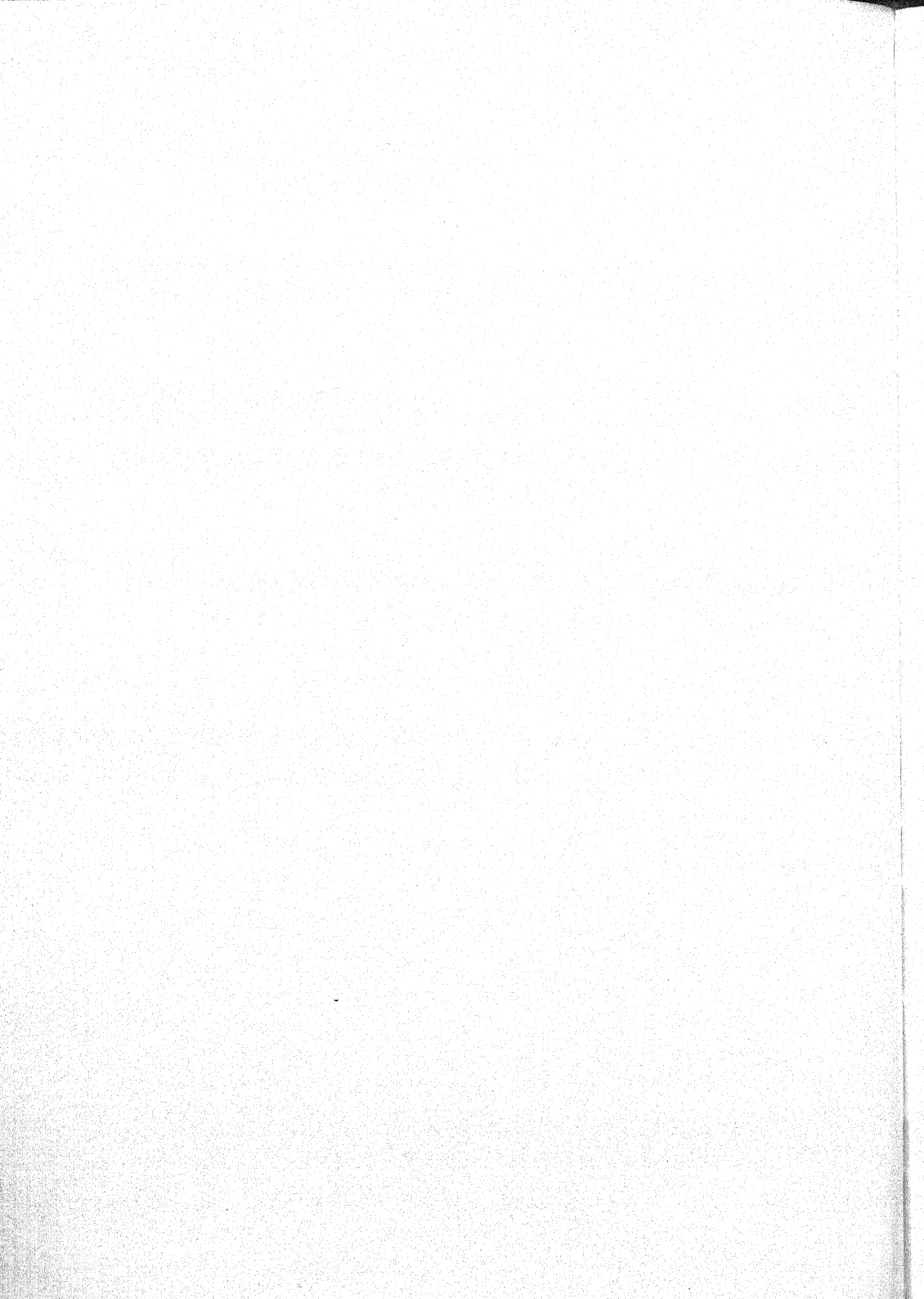
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Audited and found correct, April 23, 1918.  
J. G. KELLY, COLONEL.









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The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., consented in February last to accept the Chairmanship of this Society, making the ninth holder of the post on the following list :

- 1901-2. General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.
- 1902-4. Right Hon. Sir A. C. Lyall, G.C.I.E., I.C.S.
- 1904-6. Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.
- 1906-7. General Sir Edwin Collen, G.C.I.E., C.B.
- 1907-8. Valentine Chirol, Esq. (now Sir Valentine).
- 1908-14. The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E.
- 1914-17. The Right Hon. Sir H. M. Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
- 1917-18. Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.
- 1919. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B.

#### CONTENTS.

- LIFE IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN, AND GERMANY'S MENACE TO INDIA. By MISS ANNETTE MEAKIN.
- ADVENTURES WITH ARMOURED CARS IN RUSSIA AND THE EAST. By COMMANDER O. LOCKER-LAMPSON, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O.
- SIBERIA. By COLONEL H. SWAYNE.
- CHINA. By MR. J. O. P. BLAND.
- THE NUSHKI RAILWAY AND SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ON WHICH IT BEARS. By COLONEL WEBB WARE, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.
- OBITUARY. By A. C. YATE.
- RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS.



## LIFE IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN, AND GERMANY'S MENACE TO INDIA

COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH presided at the first meeting of the 1918-19 Session on October 9, 1918. He said he much regretted the absence, on account of continued indisposition, of the President, Sir Henry Trötter. He was there to introduce Miss Annette Meakin, than whom they could hardly have anyone better qualified to tell them what there was to be known about the remote regions in Central Asia where she had travelled, and into which ladies hitherto had hardly been able to penetrate. He believed Miss Meakin was the first European lady who had been able to study at first hand the domestic life of the secluded women of Bokhara.

Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Since I last addressed an audience on the subject of Germany's Menace to India—on May 9 of this year, many stirring and important events have taken place within and around the region to which I am drawing your attention this afternoon. The news that reaches us is scanty and often unreliable, but we know without a doubt that the terrible convulsions which tore the mighty Russian Empire to pieces have not spared her possessions in Central Asia.

Not only Caucasia, but Transcaspia and Turkestan have been drawn into the vortex. While the Georgians, the Armenians, the Tatars, and the Khirgiz, are asserting their right to self-determination, the Mohammedan subjects of the Amir of Bokhara are struggling to establish a constitution of their own. Even before the war, in 1910, the people of Bokhara, exasperated by heavy and unjust taxation, rose against the tyranny of their Amir, and much blood was shed before the rising could be quelled. At the present moment the *Russians* in Turkestan appear to be as divided among themselves as the Russians in Russia.

As you know, an Anglo-Indian force under General Dunsterville reached Baku from Persia in August last, but had to withdraw, on September 15, after severe fighting, owing chiefly to the conduct of the 7,500 unhappy and helpless Armenians whom they had come to assist.

Turkey's defeat in Palestine has been felt in the Middle East.

Bulgaria's capitulation to the Allies has cut the direct communication between Germany and Turkey. But the routes by way of Russia and the Black Sea are still at the enemy's disposal.

Germany's menace to India by way of Southern Russia was three-fold—military, political, and economic. We must see to it that the last of these—the economic menace—shall not raise its invidious head after victory and a just peace have been obtained.

The Moslem States of Central Asia lie between Germany and India—India, which was to have been the prize of the great World War. Germany's recent subjugation of Russia has brought her into close touch with these States. But the whole of the Transcaspian Railway, from Krasnovodsk and Andijan, from Merv to within a few miles of Herat, is, according to the *Kreutz Zeitung* of October 2, "in British hands to-day."\* I hope this is true.

Bulgaria's defection is a nail in the coffin of the Pan-German scheme of a *Mittel Europa*, comprising, in one great central block, Finland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, united by one gigantic system of canals and one customs union. Germany hoped by this means to draw to Hamburg the trade of Russia, of Persia, and of Central Asia, and she was already talking openly of India.

Pan-Germanism, still an economic menace to the future peace of the world, is to-day confronted by another great movement, Pan-Slavism, which has recently appeared like a cloud on the distant horizon, no bigger than a man's hand. To-day the South Slavs, with the Serbians and the Czecho-Slovaks, confront Germany's dream of world-power. It is for us to help Russia, the greatest of the Slav nations, to regain her feet, that, by fighting shoulder to shoulder with her brother-Slavs, she may once more become the captain of her own soul. Bulgaria, the corridor State, is now at our command. We must at once use the corridor as a way of communication between ourselves and the Ukraine.

There are loyal and true allies of the British in every corner of the Ukraine. Let us, without an hour's delay, put ourselves in touch with every intelligent and educated Russian in South Russia, taking care to steer clear of those Russians who advocate Bolshevism—the worst and most degrading form of slavery—slavery to a foreign Power! and we shall find it everywhere in South Russia. It is for us to separate the wheat from the tares. Bolshevism is the dry-rot in the Russian wood. We must see to it that there is none of this dry-rot, this poisonous fungus of foreign origin, in the new edifice of a free and independent Russia we are helping to build. It is for us to inaugurate strict order and discipline in each Eastern province as it comes under our control. It is for us to show that we know how to govern. It will be time

\* See *The Times*, October 4.

enough, when peace comes, to hand the government into native hands.

The Pan-Turanian movement, beneath its cunning *camouflage*, was the Kaiser's mailed fist grasping at the trade and the wealth of the Moslem States in Asia. The Sunnite Mohammedans of Russia, the biggest group of Moslems in the world, are for the most part of Turco-Tatar origin, like the Turki tribes of Persia and Turkestan. As far back as his visit to Jerusalem in 1898 the Kaiser already aspired to the leadership of the Mohammedan world. When the late Sultan of Turkey, whose ancestor\* gained Constantinople by the sword in A.D. 1453, was striving to become the political head of the Moslems under the cloak of Pan-Turanianism, the Kaiser saw his opportunity. By all means let Constantinople become the new heart of Islam as long as Turkey remains an obedient vassal of Berlin. The Sultan's aim was a *political* Pan-Islamism—a very different thing from “the right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Mohammedan belongs”—“the spiritual brotherhood and unity of the children of the Prophet,” which is thus described by one of themselves: “charity and good-will towards fellow-believers everywhere, from China to Morocco, and from the Volga to Singapore; an abiding interest in the literature of Islam, in her beautiful arts, in her lovely architecture, in her entrancing poetry;” “a true reformation, a return to the early and pure simplicity of the faith, to its preaching by persuasion and argument, to the manifestation of a spiritual power in individual lives, to beneficent activity for mankind”†—a Pan-Islamism to embrace the Turk, the Afghan, the Indian, and the Egyptian.

Nearly two years ago Germany's “Society of Eastern Civilization,” or the “Turanian Society,” began to publish a review called *Turan*. Its object is to facilitate the penetration of the East by Hungary *after the war*. One contributor is of the opinion that it is not so much a question of race as of geography; other contributors are trying to prove that the Bulgarians are of Turanian origin, and not Slavs. Their object, of course, is to weaken any sympathy that Bulgaria may feel for the Pan-Slav movement. Other German writers, with a similar object, are claiming that the Lithuanians and Letts are Turanians descended from Genghis Khan and Tamarlane. Yet, according to the greatest experts on the subject, the Lithuanians and Letts are one of the oldest branches of the Indo-European family of nations, and the language they speak is akin to Sanscrit. Thus we see Germany attempting to control and guide the sympathies of smaller nations by means of cunning *suggestion* as to their origin!

A German-Persian Society has been started in Berlin. Here,

\* The founder of the Osmanic Empire was not a descendant of the Prophet of Islam.

† “India in Transition,” by His Highness the Aga Khan.

again, the object is to sow discord between Persia and ourselves. Tatar children are being taken from Russia to Berlin to be educated. No stone is left unturned to strengthen German influence in Moham-medan countries. Last spring inspired articles in the leading German newspapers were promising Turkey that at the conclusion of the war she should find herself in undisputed possession of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt! In July last even America (after Turkey had massacred 700,000 of her defenceless people) was promised independence and a constitution. "Will you walk into my parlour?" said the spider to the fly.

For months past there have been open allusions in the German newspapers to Germany's designs upon India by way of Central Asia. A few days after I had given my first lecture (at Wigmore Hall) on the subject of Germany's Menace to India, Herr Richard Hennig, who visited Central Asia for Germany in 1915, did me the honour of quoting some of my very words in *Deutsche Politik*, and remarked that "Hamburg-Herat" was a better description of the German project of expansion through Lithuania, the Ukraine, Caucasia, and Persia to Afghanistan than "Berlin-Batum-Bokhara."

Even the newspapers of neutral countries have been warning us that, although the frontiers of Northern India are no longer menaced by the *creeping Russian bear*, the German eagle has taken the place of that bear—and the eagle can fly.

Herr Hennig not only did me the honour to quote my words, he acknowledged the truth of what I had said, and then he proceeded to urge Germany to develop her existing railway projects, in order to reach "the heart of Asia" on the Afghan frontier, "almost in view of Herat." Why Herat? Herat has been known for many a decade as "the Gateway to India." Herat is approached from the north by a Russian railway starting from Merv.

In his most interesting and instructive book, "India in Transition," His Highness the Aga Khan supports my contention that "Germany has become an Asiatic Power" *independently of the fate of Mesopotamia and Syria—and, we may now add, Bulgaria.* Fully awake to the danger which this implies, the Aga Khan urges us to build up "a United States of India within the British Empire, as the best and only practical bulwark we can raise against Germany's military, political, economic, and territorial encroachment. Persia and Afghanistan, he urges, "are the most vulnerable part of India's great land frontiers." "Our influence must be exerted to the full to make Persia and Afghanistan independent national entities." "The problem of Central Asia and of the Caucasus is not solved, but takes a new and far more disquieting aspect" than it wore in the days of Russian Tsardom." This writer says: "It is for the Indian patriot to recognize that Persia, Afghanistan, and possibly Arabia, must, sooner or

later, come within the orbit of some Continental Power, such as Germany . . . or must throw in their lot with that of the Indian Empire. . . . The world forces that move small States into closer contact with powerful neighbours . . . will inevitably make themselves felt in Asia." This writer then proceeds to unfold his scheme of a "South Asiatic Federation," and I strongly recommend his book to all who are interested in the subject.

Two omissions I notice. He says not a word about the possible effect of the important railways via Russia, which were so near their completion before the war, and which, sooner or later, will bring Bombay within seven days' journey of London. Nor does he speak of the immense possibilities of India as a cotton-growing country.

I could devote a whole lecture to the subject of Germany's economic menace, and another to the subject of cotton alone. When the war began, Turkestan—which only turned its attention to cotton-growing thirty years ago—was supplying Russia with three-fifths of her raw cotton.

What was the use of keeping cotton from entering Germany on the west if the enemy could command the cotton-fields of Turkestan?

If the German road through South Russia to India is assured, Germany's economic penetration, writes Mr. E. P. Stebbing, is in itself a victory far greater than could have been won by military subjugation.\*

I shall now show you a map indicating the railways that approach India from the north, and the gaps that remain to be bridged between them and the railways of India. This map has been specially prepared for my lectures. We shall then turn our attention to some pictures illustrating life in Turkestan, all of which I brought with me from that country on the occasion of my second visit. Many of them have been prepared from my own photographs.

NOTE.—The Pan-Turanian question, after being very fully and very ably handled in the *Round Table* of December, 1917, is also touched upon here. Miss M. A. Czaplicka, whose excellent lecture on "The Cossacks" appeared in Part II. of the *CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL* for 1918, has just published, through the Clarendon Press, "The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day: An Ethnological Enquiry into the Pan-Turanian Problem." Miss Czaplicka is Lecturer in Ethnology in the University of Oxford.—A. C. M.

The CHAIRMAN said he did not think anyone could have heard Miss Meakin's excellent paper without learning a great deal from her vivid description of social customs and manners in Bokhara. He did not think he had heard from any traveller a story of domestic life in Central Asia so clear and well illustrated as that by Miss Meakin.

\* See review of "From Czar to Bolshevik," *Morning Post*, October 4, 1918.

Where he did not altogether agree with her was when she wandered into the great field of world-politics and discussed the problem of Germany's intentions toward India. There was a time, as she said, when we were accused of suffering from "nervousness," when Russia appeared to be making deliberate steps in the direction of India. Knowing the Indian frontier, and both its strength and its weakness, as well as he did, and having superintended the carrying of surveys right across Northern Afghanistan and over the Hindu Kush, he confessed he had never suffered from that form of nervousness. He was always confident that Russia would think a very long time before she undertook so gigantic a task as that of advancing toward India by way of Afghanistan, and carrying her railways to the Indian frontier. As Miss Meakin had pointed out, there were two gaps between the Russian railway system and our own—one on the east between Samarkhand and our railways round Peshawar, the other on the west between Herat and Quetta. As regards the latter, he had always been of opinion that the sooner the gap was filled the better. He had never considered that it would be dangerous, from a military point of view, to India. He had seen no evidence to convince him that Russia would ever be in a position to make any particular use of that railway in her descent upon India. As regards the other gap, it was new to him that, according to an American opinion, it would be practicable to make a thirty or forty miles tunnel through the heart of the very elevated system of mountains known as the Hindu Kush, and then to carry it on through Afghanistan. He did not consider that this was a practicable proposition, and in any case it would be a most costly business. To his mind the idea was ridiculous to suppose that it would ever be seriously attempted in war-time.

Our nervousness as regards Russia had passed away, and of late years a new nervousness had seized us as regards German intentions toward India. It had only blossomed into being since the war began. But just as he failed to see in the past how Russia could really make any sort of advance toward India which would promise successful invasion of that country, so he failed to see how Germany could do so either. He had always looked upon it as a German dream, and one that was impossible of realization, but one that was very useful to the Prussian military party in tickling the fancy of the German people. Even if Germany were still in a position to make full use of Bulgaria and Constantinople, and carried her railways to the Persian frontier, she would still have a very gigantic task before her in traversing Persia and descending upon the only vital part of our North-West Frontier. He did not think that any German general of real insight was ever ready to contemplate such an idea. Now that the dream of passing through Bulgaria had been shattered, he thought the alternative of a route through Russia was even more difficult and more



impossible of realization than ever. He did not think they need trouble themselves in the very least on that score. It would be very many long years before Germany was in a position to undertake serious operations in the direction of our Eastern Empire. We might now look upon that menace as passed away, like that of Russia.

The problem before us requiring very careful consideration, however, was that of the future of Persia. Now that, so far as we could see, Russia and Germany were both unable to make any direct use of Persia in their schemes of Eastern triumph, the responsibility of assuming sponsorship for Persia would rest upon our shoulders. He did not see how it could be placed on anyone else. If that was so, it was to be hoped that the responsibility would be safeguarded by being under the control of a department which knew something about Persia. He had seen a most amazing suggestion in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the previous day that the Secretary of State for India, who was rightly described as an amateur in Indian matters, should be paid from British instead of Indian revenues so as to bring him under the direct control of our Westminster politicians, and that the Council of India, which was justly described as composed of men well acquainted with India, should be swept away as a cumbersome appendix. That was to say, the one chance that an ignorant Secretary of State had of acquiring a little knowledge at second-hand of the country for the government of which he was responsible was to be relegated to the dustbin of party politics. It might be said that that was only a piece of journalistic suggestion. But it was to be constantly noted that newspapers played the tune that they hoped the public was going to dance to, and that they claimed to be leaders of public opinion in this country. If the suggestion referred to was going to be carried out, he for one was exceedingly sorry for the prospects of Persia as well as for India. He trusted, however, that it was not a serious suggestion.

He must confess to some lack of sympathy with Persia because she had so constantly omitted to make use of her opportunities for helping herself. When they saw what was being done by small nations in the war, such as Serbia, to recover their national independence, it seemed amazing that Persia, with all her great wealth in man-power, with her admirable frontiers, and her other means of resistance, should be so entirely apathetic and disregarding of any ambitions to make her own position good. She seemed to lie like a helpless log at the mercy of any adventurer, whether German, Turkish, or Russian, who chose to come along. He saw no sign of her setting to work to create a strong Government of her own, and to protect her own integrity.

Subsequently, in answer to a question as to whether he took the same view of the economic as of the military menace of Germany

toward India, the Chairman said that he had always regarded the economic position as dependent on the military. Trade followed the flag all the world over. Any difficulties which might have existed as regards the interchange of commodities between Germany and India were certainly not likely to have been modified by the present war. His own opinion was that those difficulties had been so greatly increased that interchange between Germany and India would almost cease to exist.

Sir DENISON ROSS wished to say how much he had enjoyed the wonderful photographs thrown on the screen. Anyone who had studied books on Central Asia would find that the same photographs were repeated in every book in every language (laughter), and very poor and unconvincing they were. For the first time they had seen that afternoon some original pictures of the inhabitants of Bokhara, and he hoped before the meeting closed Miss Meakin would show them her photographs of Samarkhand, where was to be seen some of the most beautiful architecture in the whole of the East. (Cheers.)

Sir EDWIN PEARSON said that he had enjoyed the photographs and the paper, and he had found himself in entire sympathy with the observations of the Chairman. The political aspirations of Germany in Central Asia did not trouble him greatly. As to Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism, the whole thing was rubbish from beginning to end. In the current *Contemporary Review* he had done his best to expose the absurdity of these movements. He saw the birth of Pan-Turanianism, which was expounded in a well-known French book by M. Noel Cahun, who was of the Jewish persuasion. But it was incomprehensible to him that any section of the Turkish people should have taken that book and sought to form from it a sort of religion for the Turkish race that should supersede the great Semitic religion of Islam. Islam was one of the three great monotheistic faiths, and he knew no country that had ever been monotheistic that had gone back on the great central idea of the unity of God. Such an idea marked an advance in civilization. A friend of his had seen the working of Islam on the West Coast of Africa, and his testimony was that of other observers—that when a tribe embraces Islam it rapidly advances in civilization in comparison with the other tribes retaining their old superstitious ideas. We might not admit that it was an advance equal to that which Christianity made, for that was another matter altogether. But to suppose that the Arabs and other Moslems of Turkey were going to abandon what the Pan-Turanians called the Semitic creed in order to take up the Turanian was unthinkable.

As to the project of Germany getting through to India, it seemed to him an idle dream impossible of accomplishment unless some unforeseen misfortune should occur, especially now that the notion of making Bulgaria the corridor for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway had

been shattered. The fact was that the Bulgarians were driven into taking up arms on the side of Germany by their King. Many of the best men were got rid of because they rebelled. Happily, the people had come to their senses, and King Ferdinand had found it convenient to leave his country. Might he never return to it! (Cheers.)

By special request, Miss Meakin showed the remainder of her photographs, and she was accorded a hearty vote of thanks moved from the chair.

## ADVENTURES WITH ARMoured CARS IN RUSSIA AND THE EAST

ON November 23, 1918, Commander O. Locker-Lampson, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O., gave the Society a most interesting address, illustrated by lantern slides, on his experiences in Russia, the Caucasus, Armenia, Anatolia and Galicia with the Corps of Armoured Cars which he took to Russia *via* Archangel, in 1916 and 1917. Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., presided, and in a few words introduced to the audience the lecturer, who, as the Chairman appropriately said, "scarcely required an introduction."

The address opened with a description of the voyage of the Armoured Car Contingent round the North Cape, their destination being Archangel. But Archangel they did not reach owing to adverse weather. Commander Locker-Lampson put into Kola, a place, the name of which, since the completion of the Murmansk Railway, has become familiar. The post reached Kola in reindeer sledges over a distance of 300 miles, and the same means of transport fetched a priest for Christmas services, christenings, and the burial of five months' dead. It has, the lecturer pointed out, changed names two or three times during the war, and there seemed no reason why it should not ultimately settle down to the name of the British sailor who first landed troops and cars there to help the Russians. Of the intense cold and consequent frostbite he drew in few words a telling picture. Finally the British Armoured Cars found their way to Archangel, where they were effusively greeted by the citizens, the Mayor fervently embracing him. "I have been embraced by more Russian Mayors than any Briton," he observed; "in fact I had to depute one of my officers to attend to these matters, so that I should be free to carry on my military duties." Thence they proceeded to Moscow, where the party was received by the Grand Duke Nicholas, of whom he spoke in a highly appreciative manner. "He stuck loyally to his cause, and was the best friend in Russia that the Englishman ever had, and while we had a wholesome fear of him, there was really no need for this, so long as we did our duty." Via Vladikavkas and Tiflis, the Chef-lieu of the Caucasus, they worked on to the Russian front in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Anatolia, and bore their share in the contest with the Turks. Speaking of the Armenian atrocities, the lecturer

said they found, among other horrors, churches broken up, and in a nunnery all the nuns lying dead. The Grand Duke Nicholas, who, after gallantly leading the Russian Army against Germany and Austria in the early part of the war, was deposed by intrigue and relegated to the Caucasus as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, was there, as elsewhere, a tower of strength to the Russian cause. He had been seen to mete out justice personally to an intoxicated Russian officer. He was a true friend to England. His magnificent stature, 6 feet 7 or 8 inches, alone made him a man of mark.\* Of the Turk, Commander Locker-Lampson spoke with respect, but of the Kurd with horror and contempt, and he drew a sombre picture of the atrocities perpetrated on the Armenians.

When the Russian Revolution broke out, the British Corps of Armoured Cars—there were 32 in all—fell back through the Caucasus and traversed Southern Russia to Roumania and finally into Galicia. It was there that they came into contact with the disorganized and mutinous Russian troops. It was there that terrible scenes, of the murder of officers by soldiers, of whole regiments and divisions throwing down their arms and fleeing, and of terror-stricken Russian infantry clambering blindly on to the cars, until they broke two of them down, were witnessed. The camera illustrated all this with pictures—admirable and most telling pictures—taken on the spot. Baron Gerard, a gallant Russian, was seen stemming, and by his sheer personality stopping, a mob of panic-stricken soldiery. Not the least interesting figure in several of these pictures was the mascot of the Corps, a bear which, a cub at the outset, became before the end full grown, and was shown wrestling with one of the officers. He had finally to be sacrificed after killing twenty pigs, and then a little stray Armenian boy, picked up homeless and parentless, stepped into the brown bear's shoes, until he too was unexpectedly identified and claimed by a lost sister. Commander Locker-Lampson's story of how he exchanged his sword—not quite of his own free will—in the Caucasus for two horses, and how he borrowed a German prisoner's helmet, having none of his own, to the imminent peril, as he soon found, of his life, can only be alluded to, not told as the lecturer told them, here.

This is but a poor effort at rescuing from oblivion a lecture brimful of incident and romance. In concluding it, Commander Locker-Lampson earnestly assured the audience that the Bolshevik was not the type of the Russian, that the day must come when the right sort would once more be "top dog." While he fully admitted the

\* In this he rivalled the famous Major-General Sir Henry Lindsay Bethune, a cousin of the late chairman, Sir Henry Trotter, whose height was 6 feet 8 inches in his stocking-soles, and who commanded the Persian army for a considerable part of the first half of the nineteenth century.

immensity of the harm which Raspútín had brought upon the Court and upon the Noblesse of Russia, he maintained that much of the scandal linked round the name of Raspútín was quite unfounded. He had met Raspútín. It had been said that he was a German spy. He thought this unlikely. The monk was vain and out for a good time, and, as he was in receipt of large sums of money from Russian officials, there was no need for him to go to Germany for funds. Raspútín was certainly the cause of the Revolution.

Many prisoners were taken during the campaign, the Austrians very often coming over in large numbers. In one instance a large party of Austrians, headed by a band, marched over to be captured, and were then anxious to join the Russians. He told them they would not be able to do this, but, as they had come over with a band, they could act in that capacity. "Once," he remarked, "our men were thirty hours getting the fleet of cars across a river. As soon as the last car was over, an order came from the General Staff to return at once." The Russian plans were always being altered. "I remember great preparations had been made for an attack; but some officers were so pleased to meet me that they made merry all night, and the attack was put off for a fortnight." In Asiatic Turkey one of the drivers of an oxen-cart was seen to be wearing a blue tail coat. On closer examination it was found to have the buttons of the Conservative Club on its somewhat tattered front. As a Conservative member of the House of Commons, the lecturer said, he was pleased to see a supporter so many miles away. He expressed the strongest admiration for Russians not of the hooligan class, and stated that he never saw greater bravery than that displayed by the "Black Death" in their last stand.

On the conclusion of this address, which was listened to with unfaltering attention, Sir Frederic Fryer invited any member of the audience to make remarks upon the lecture.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE then said that he desired to tell the audience that it was the enthusiastic report of an Eton boy, who heard Commander Locker-Lampson lecture at Eton, which led to an invitation being sent to the Commander to lecture to the Central Asian Society. That invitation had, thanks to the kindly offices of Sir Frederic Fryer, resulted in the pleasure which all had just experienced. Colonel Yate added some of his own experiences of frostbite, notably the case of an Afghan from Farah who lost both his feet from well above the ankles in the retreat from Panjdeh in March, 1885, and whom he (Colonel Yate) met some years later in Sind returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The CHAIRMAN said he had much pleasure in asking the audience to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Commander Lampson for the very interesting and entertaining lecture he had given them. They all



regretted that time had not allowed him to tell them more about the Revolution and about Rasputin. It would afford them great delight if Commander Locker-Lampson would give them another lecture, as he had half promised, and tell them more on this subject. (Cheers.) One of the things which they might congratulate him upon most was that he and his party had, many of them, safely returned, for they had passed through so many dangers that it was a wonder that any of them had reached England again. The armoured cars from this country did a most useful service for the Russians, and it was a matter for deep regret that the Revolution in Russia had deprived us of those formerly staunch Allies on whom, in the earlier stages of the war, we depended so much. They might hope that in course of time the real Russia would come to itself, and that the country would again be well governed and prosperous. There would then be a prospect of the Russians once more becoming our firm Allies. The Revolution was a great misfortune, and he could quite understand that, as Commander Locker-Lampson had shown, it was the work of a very inferior set of hooligans and rascals who had seized power and had exercised it in a manner most injurious to the good of the country.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

## SIBERIA

At a meeting of the Society on November 13, 1918, with Sir Evan James in the chair, Colonel H. Swayne gave a lecture on "Siberia." He said:

**PRELIMINARY REMARKS.**—Before beginning this lecture, I should like to say that I have not been in Siberia since June, 1914; and my chief claim to come before you to-night is that I have approached the subject from an Asiatic point of view. I went there first in 1903 and again in 1914 as a result of long-laid schemes matured when on extended shooting trips in such Southern Asiatic countries as Ladak, Gilgit, Tibet, Upper Burma, and Arabia, when my imagination always turned to the north in anticipation of some day going there.

**GENERAL FEATURES.**—Western Siberia, including the black-earth plains of the Irtysh and Obi Rivers, is the granary of Siberia, and its registered and classified agricultural area is a quarter larger than all France; behind, to the north, is the forest kind of region which is known as Taiga, merging into the swampy Tundra scrub nearer to the Arctic. These latter lands are mostly unexplored save by migratory hunters and fishermen from the great rivers.

To the south-east the land rises to the Altai, a highland region which, with the ranges near it, covers an area about ten times as large as all Switzerland, and culminates in the Bielukha Range, at between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, say about as high as the Swiss Jungfrau. The Altai is rich in silver, lead, copper, iron ore, coal, and gold.

East Siberia, including, before the war, some eight Governments, has a registered agricultural area a third greater than France, and also it is very mountainous, having many ranges and high plains and ridges rising to about twice the height of Snowdon, rich in all the minerals already named, with the addition of graphite, and its chief resource is gold.

The agricultural areas would presumably be capable of extension as time goes on.

To be specially noted are the great rivers, twice whose combined navigable length would about encircle the earth.

Now by looking at the map you will see some of the places which will be mentioned when the slides are thrown on the screen.

Here is the great railway, and here is Ob station, and town of Novo Nicholaewsk, in Mid-Siberia, the point of departure for the Altai.

**THE CHUYA ROUTE.**—In going by the Chuya track to the Mongolian border through the wooded Siberian Altai, you steam up the Obi River to Barnaul, a mining town; and thence on to Bisk, the limit of navigation at the head-waters of the Obi. Then you drive from Bisk by Altaiskoe, Tenginskoe, Ongudai, Kouaktenar, to Kosh-Agatch. You then take to pack ponies, and crossing the desolate Chuisaya Steppe you come out on the Mongolian Altai, the open downs, rising to about 9,000 or 10,000 feet, which separate the Chinese from what was the Russian Empire. Here is the mountain called Muss Ta, a very distinct landmark in that treeless country.

**THE FILLING UP OF SIBERIA.**—While Europe had since Crimean days been watching and restricting Russia at her natural front doors, at Constantinople and in the Baltic, and while India had been carefully watching her doings in Turkestan, Russia had by the end of last century, by building the Great Siberian Railway, put the finishing touch to the slow advance, through three hundred years, of her Cossacks and peasants, who had swept across Asia, colonizing from the parent stem; and so latterly, while Europe was busy staking out small healthy plateaux of limited extent in a somewhat unhealthy Africa, Russia, almost unnoticed, had finally secured for her people the last great space on the planet which was still left empty though available for producing wheat and obtaining minerals.

At the same time the last quarter of the century saw the filling up of the old Roman maps, till Siberia became not only the dim eastern edge of the old European world, but also the western edge of the American world, and for the first time the nations woke up to find that there was no unknown place on the planet, which had shrunk together and was girdled by a continuous belt of fast steam transport. Japan had become a first-class Power, and the countries bordering the Pacific accelerated their development like a long-stored negative. To-day Asia is regaining her old position, and nearly every Asiatic State has been helping the fight for civilization.

We know that in the river-basins of Siberia there are signs of pre-historic settlement but, for all intents and purposes, Siberia had up to the end of the nineteenth century been a sector of the planet lying green under heaven, its surface scarcely scratched by human settlement, and its population, including both the Russian settlers and the scattered Turki, Mongol, or Finnish tribes, would have gone to make up about half a dozen good-sized English towns.

**THE ALTAI REGION.**—The Altai region is worth some description because not only is the scenery quite remarkable, but it has been visited by few non-Russians, except mining engineers or British

sportsmen like myself, who now and then penetrate there looking for the Argali rams.

But very shortly, with rapid transit and aeroplane posts, we shall be thinking of Siberia in a commonplace way as we already think of Essex or Kent.

My best memory of the Altai is a pre-harvest one, when, travelling along a hillside flanked on one side by standing corn, and on the other by a sheet of wild-flowers, I met a column of country carts and of farm horses ridden by Russian peasants, astride, men, women and children, in twos and threes, going to their work in the fields.

When I first went to Siberia, I went there straight from residence in the famine districts of Southern India, and the white man's prosperity of Siberia was somewhat of a revelation to me.

At every post-house there were turkeys, geese, real butter, and excellent tea to be had. Outside, at timber-work in the forest, would be the owner and his sons; men educated by their real experiences, depending on no master; better housed than many of our farm labourers in a Midland county.

The huts, generally single-storied on short piles, had two rooms. They were well built of sawn planks with dry moss or felt stuffed into any crevices, and the windows were double-shuttered. There would be a flat-topped built-in stove on which people could sleep in winter, and plank beds fixed along the walls, above which, on pegs, hung the family winter furs.

There were large numbers of children about. Warm, sunlit, forest-covered hills rose everywhere, recalling Kashmir or Switzerland, but not so steep, and wheat was growing in the level patches.

Each important hamlet has a bath-house, where people can bathe periodically and air their clothes.

Here is a thing which strikes one in South and West Siberia; it is better than Russia; the social standing seems better, and there is a Colonial independence; and it did not in the least surprise me to hear that Siberian troops had distinguished themselves in recent campaigns, or that Siberia is taking a political line of its own in the upheavals of to-day.

On my first journey of 1,500 miles without the aid of the railway line I left the Great Siberian line at Ob. The distance to be traversed up to the last Russian post, Kosh-Agatch, near the Chinese-Mongolian border, is about 750 miles: of this distance the first 400 miles were got over by the regular steamer, ascending the Obi River to Bisk; thence on for another 350 miles, by sitting in a tarantass drawn by three horses, galloping over the rough Chuya cart-track, and changed at the peasants' huts which were improvised as posting stages.

At that time the track was incomplete, and so one had to ride, for

the latter half of the distance, transporting the baggage on-Mongolian ponies led by mounted Kalmuks.

The southern part of this track by the Katun River gorges and thence along the Chuya is through the best Altai scenery; and a few Russians from the larger Siberian towns were summering in these valleys as other people do in Switerland. The whole Altai region was the private property of the Tsar, administered by officers of the Imperial Cabinet.

Novo Nicholaewsk, or Ob, the starting-point, is in a fine position for future trade, standing as it does where the great railway line meets the Obi, whose navigable waters at certain seasons are in communication with the world's oceans by the Arctic. Fortunes were being rapidly made at the time of the coming of the railway. Incomers who had been needy peasants in Russia were already prosperous in 1903, or had taken to trade or hotel-keeping.

There was a thriving export trade in butter to Denmark and England.

It was in this town that I was most kindly made welcome by Mr. Cattley, whose family has been well known in Russia for a great number of years.

THE RIVER JOURNEY.—The river journey up the Obi to the Altai was an experience full of interest. Here one saw Russian peasants at close range. The upper deck contained cabins, but the well of the steamer was crowded with peasants exactly as they had come from their farms; and in steamer travelling at least they had little comfort. Men and women slept in their day clothes, packed close together, the men sometimes not taking the trouble to remove their long boots; women struggled with children and untidy bundles.

If you went on deck of a morning you saw the powerful boat forcing itself southwards against a river as wide perhaps as the Thames at Westminster, running on its journey of over 2,000 miles to its estuary in the Arctic; first between open, lonely, green pastures, farther north by half-explored forests and Tundra tracts. The brown muddy stream flows in a swift smooth sheet, shining like burnished copper.

The banks are boundless pasture, rising here and there into low ridges, and herds of cows, sheep, and horses are scattered about. Four hundred miles of a river journey like this, and the same distance back, are a great experience of pure, spacious air from the prairies.

Rarely, there is a hamlet with a diminutive wooden church whose little spire of copper green, crowned by a bulb of gold, reflects the sun; and a huddle of brown deep-eaved chalet-like log-houses, like those of Kashmir, overhangs some scarped river curve; and you will find this sort of village, with the little Byzantine gold cupola, a standing feature of the landscape, which you will carry with you, repeated all across Asia.

Sometimes an island covered with a colony of white river-gulls appears ahead of the steamer; or a line of darker forest in the grey distance seems to bar the path. In June, the air is that of early summer at home; the sky at times cloudy and English-looking with showers of rain.

At the halting-places wood fuel is stacked, and rafts float in the back waters; men detach logs and carry them to the bank on stretchers. Large timber rafts come down in mid-channel, each steered by four men, making for the Imperial saw-mills at the Ob station.

On moonlight evenings, in summer, the river shimmers grey and white like a silver salver against the olive-green background of pine forest, under a pale yellow sky.

On tying up at Barnaul, you used to call on the representative of the Imperial Cabinet, who held General Officer's rank, and lived in a fine house with a very large ball or reception room, parquet-floored; there were full-length portraits in oil of the Tsars, rows of chairs, and palms in painted tubs: everything on the grand scale. It was here you received your letters to the Altai police authorities.

On the river reaches, towards the head of navigation at Bisk, woods rose to view everywhere, the steamer threaded glassy flooded water-lanes, full with snow-water from the heights of Bielukha, the "White Mountains" of the Altai, streaks of old snow began to appear in the gullies of the banks overlooking the river, showing the extremes of climate; for the days were, in June, already giving an Indian heat, and the nights only a summer coolness.

As the river narrows near Bisk, distant snow-capped ranges are seen; we are in some of the richest pastures in the world, with herds of cattle and ponies grazing everywhere.

In the heart of Asia, Bisk is very civilized. It had many well-to-do residents, a club with a band, which courteously played "Rule, Britannia!" when we visited it, and many two-storied hotels and stone houses. There was a big trade in butter and Mongolian products, chiefly wool, camel-hair, and hides.

On a rainy night these Siberian towns are dreary places, the soaked wooden footpaths are unlit, the streets a black quagmire, and large savage dogs, like those of the Tibetan breed, bark from houses and rattle their chains, while the traveller has to feel for the slippery planks with his feet. You will only find the counterpart of the Siberian mud, duck-walks, holes, and darkness, if you go to Flanders at the present time.

**THE DRIVE THROUGH THE SIBERIAN ALTAI.**—From Bisk you drive to the Mongolian border, first along the valley of the swift Katun, remarkable for its deep geological terraces; and later you will enter the gorge of the rushing Chuya torrent.

You sit in a tarantass, a strong, springless, black wicker phaeton,



shaped like a double-ended punt, on four low wheels which are placed wide apart, inadequately sheltered by a low hood from the black sheets of Siberian-mud which is thrown up from the horses' feet. There is a seat for the driver in front, and for two passengers under the hood. This is not exactly a Rolls-Royce for comfort, especially if it is the baggage telyeshka, and it is not even an improvement on the Himalayan tonga. The troika team, of three pretty little horses, with Arab heads out of a Roman fresco, drags it over everything, on rough cart-tracks along the mountain sides at the trot or gallop, the outside horses freely moving in traces, while the centre one is between shafts which are joined overhead by lofty hoop and bells.

As in the Kashmir mail-tonga trip, your arrival at your destination is a matter of pure luck; one of my tarantasses, at night, was turned over with its three horses by a boulder as large as a piano, over which the centre horse decided to take a flying leap, another tarantass was bogged, and we had to work at the wheel at midnight to get it free.

On another occasion we met an active flock of tame sheep coming down on to the road, which road was clinging to the hillside, and every third or fourth sheep insisted on jumping clear over the team.

There are dilatory pontoon ferries, on which miserable ponies are flogged round on a slippery wet deck turning a paddle-wheel. The ferryman is often drunk, and fifty Russians, with their children, will cheerfully camp out for a whole night on the shingle, cooking and chatting in the lee of their carts, in the rain, while the ferryman returns to sanity and decides to work. They are naturally a democratic people, more so than we are, patient and easy-going, and in Russia you learn the meaning of the words "sichass" (directly), "skari" (look sharp), "nichevo" (never mind), and what a bribe of ninepence can do for you.

The land as you approach the foothills of the Altai looks green like the Central Provinces of India after the summer rains, and is black cotton soil. Much flax and hemp are grown.

When, later, you get into the more Alpine scenery, the valleys are gorgeous with wild-flowers, purple iris, bull's-eyes, cowslips, wild pea, orange marsh-marigold, and flowers looking like blue and white forget-me-nots in broad mile-long masses. You wish for a botanist companion when in Siberia and Mongolia; you can go for many hours ride with your pony's feet brushing through massed wild-flowers such as the world can surely not show elsewhere. They beat the English meadows, the valleys of Switzerland, or even Kashmir in May and June.

We lodged with a trader who kept Maral stags in a deer park, and I found him shutting a stag into an iron cage, and sawing off the horns while still soft, "in the velvet," to be sold in China as a valuable medicine.

Driving through these forests after dark we heard wolves; but it is said that, as is the case in most countries that contain game, they do not molest travellers.

As you enter the Tenginskoe depression, you are driving over glades brilliant with flowers, over flat, smooth, natural lawns which are overshadowed by clumps of cedar and pine. A valley-bottom shelves to a small circular lake, where cattle are being driven about by Kalmuks or Kirghiz, galloping dots; and there are clusters of huts shaped like North American Indian tents, and rough timber stockyard enclosures. Beyond Ongudai we ferried over the Katun, and here I found Russian peasants boarding in a house owned by a Kalmuk, working for him, his wife acting as hostess. This situation would have been impossible in India, where there is practically no European labour. There were two high passes giving fine views over snowy ranges; and after crossing the Katun finally you enter the famous gorge of its tributary, the Chuya. You now go deep into the Kalmuk country, where Russians are seldom met with, except at a rare police camp. In some glade you may come across a gruesome relic of Northern Shaman superstition, where, waving in the wind on sloping poles, are the skins of ponies which have been sacrificed by being torn asunder.

Besides the rare posting-huts entrusted to the care of Russianized Christian Kalmuks, you pass groups of round Kalmuk huts, made of larch pit-props, with circular walls and conical roofs; or the better Yurtas or portable semi-rigid huts covered with thick grey felt, which are used by the richer nomads.

Along this Chuya gorge you ride day after day on smooth valley floors or on the wonderful deeply sculptured natural river terraces, under pine-clad pinnacles like the bear and ibex haunts at the mouth of the well-known Sindh valley of Kashmir, and this particular kind of scenery was always a joy to me. The rocks fall sheer for hundreds of feet to quiet wooded slopes, with golden grain standing in the flats below. Such a place was Kouaktenar, where on the hills I found some thirty-eight inch Ibex horns buried in the débris of a landslide.

Another point, where the road, with posts and rails, climbed a forested hill, reminded me of our own Simla, grazing cows in this rather gentle scenery giving a touch of Wales or Switzerland.

There were defiles choked with a tangle of fallen pines, the result of wind, avalanche, or fire, choking the torrent channels; and now and then the smooth green valley floor was dotted with scattered rocks as large as an omnibus, half buried in the soil, where they had fallen from cliffs or been swept down in past ages by ice or water. Hourly and daily the scenery became grander as the gorge narrowed.

A picturesque outfit was that of the Ispravnik or District Superintendent of Police, who, with his other duties, and assisted by

engineers, had to make the Chuya track. The officers were in carriages and wore neat uniforms, but the mixed crew of Russian foremen and Russian and Kalmuk navvies were dressed anyhow, mostly in big black felt hats, blouses, and trousers tucked into long boots; the darker, browner Kalmuks wore loose coats or sheepskins and Chinese snow riding-boots, of raw leather or of the felt kind which we call "Gilgit boots" in India. It was a rough-looking assembly, and called to mind the migrations of pilgrim fathers in the story books. In his camp the Ispravnik was very comfortable, in good felt tents with his retinue of engineers and surveyors camped round him.

Another interesting scene is the group of natives taking the road; among the Altai tribes most people ride, and you see some of the men with their families. They pass you on fast-pacing ponies, the little people of Turki or Mongol descent, including the women, sitting astride, knee up to the pony's neck, jockey fashion, with high Tatar heels in the stirrups, the men carrying strapped behind them long guns with the two-pronged toasting-fork gun-rests pointing like lances to the sky.

The greeting seemed generally to be no longer the "Salaam-Alaikum" of the Arabs or "Asalam-Alaik" of the Kashmiris, but "Aman-Dai" or something that sounded like it. There were, speaking loosely, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Kalmuks; and their faces told of Turki, Finnish, or Mongolian strains of blood. Their religions are said to be forms of Mahommedanism, Shamanism, or Buddhism.

At Kosh-Agatch, we emerged from the Chuya gorges and had reached the outermost Russian police post, where live a Customs official and half a dozen families of Russian and native traders. They trade over the Chinese border with Kobdo in Mongolia, to which place there is a cart-track over the mountains.

There was nothing whatever between this little village of Kosh-Agatch and the first Chinese Amban's post about forty miles away, beyond the Mongolian divide, which appears to be one of the lesser backbones of Asia, though not difficult to cross.

By now, the Chuisky cart-track from Bisk is a regular post road, and it has brought the Chinese-Mongolian frontier near Kobdo to within ten or eleven days of the Great Siberian Railway at the Obi; or, say, three weeks from London. I am not taking into account any recent railway extensions that may or may not have been opened to mining towns near the Obi.

At Kosh-Agatch, wool was collected in parcels, washed, and exported by Bisk to Russia; also raw hides and long camel-hair, used, I am told, in the manufacture of machine-beltting.

THE MONGOLIAN ALTAI.—So far, we have been passing southward through the wooded Siberian Altai, which cannot be far from the centre of Asia; we have reached the limit of all things Russianized.

Twenty miles south is the Mongolian divide and the green hills, rising to 8,000 or 9,000 feet, are very sparsely inhabited by wandering tribes, among them Mongolian shepherds and Lamaist monks.

As you stand ready to start from Kosh-Agatch, you have round you your half-dozen Kalmuk mounted men, each leading a pack pony. They wear woollen coats or sheepskins. The coat-sleeves are a foot longer than the arms, so that when the wearer has to sleep out on the plain on a cold night he can cover his hands with his sleeves and bury his head in his arms, rolling himself into a ball, like a human hedgehog.

Your Kalmuk hunter has the distinction of wearing your field-glass over his shoulders, which he uses with great skill, and he and you may converse in broken Russian, helped out by the language of signs.

Between you and the Mongolian hills is a flat shingly plain, the Chuisaya steppe, about 5,000 feet above sea-level, probably an old lake-bed. It is forty-five miles long by twelve broad, its length running nearly east and west. It is shut in by snow-streaked mountains; and if you were to drain the Lake of Geneva in winter you would get a good idea of how it looks and feels, cheerless, and swept by bitter winds from Mongolia. It is a great contrast after the comfortable wooded country of the Siberian Altai which you have now left.

Behind you is the little spire of the Kosh-Agatch Church, and when you have lost sight of that you feel that you have said good-bye to civilization.

The routine of a few weeks' wandering in Mongolia is simple; you have a shelter tent four feet high and your men another; and they collect horse-litter in saddlebags for the fuel with which your cooking is done. Your food is tinned, or anything you can fish or shoot.

Before dawn you ride out alone with only your hunter, each of you taking field-glass or telescope, blanket, water-bottle, and food; and you trot about spying for the great Argali rams, which you must see while they are from one to three miles away, or they will see you first. There are hours of lying behind rock outcrops in the windy uplands, or crawling over the open; and when it is dark your hunter gives the signal that he has had enough by saying "Chai Pit" (to drink tea)—so like the "Cha Pina" of India. Then you dismount and lead home your tired ponies over hill and dale, or skate down great landslides of gravel.

Sometimes your companion will whisper "Volk" and significantly grab at your waistcoat, and you stop for a moment to listen to the music of the small parties of grey Siberian wolves which take up the hunt after dark. The wild sheep have been persecuted by them since the dawn of their mutual creation; there are no trees for hundreds of miles southward, only elevated downs, breaking here and there into

precipitous gullies which harbour Ibex; and the wild Argali, as a result of this persecution, is one of the most alert and long-sighted things on four legs. He is not protected by game-keepers and Justices of the Peace, and has developed a proper independence; and the inroads of a few British sportsmen in quest of something difficult to shoot, who fire a dozen shots every other year or so and then go home again, are nothing compared with the mortality from wolves.

Conspicuous objects are the skulls and skeletons of the great rams lying about under the caves and precipices where they have been hunted down by wolves or half buried in shingle and driftwood brought down by the torrents.

In the Chuisaya plain a few Prejwalsky's gazelles also know how to take care of themselves, for when you first see them they are already half a mile away and making off at full speed.

In the valleys you gather pony-loads of wild rhubarb, growing thick, exactly like, though sweeter than, that our English gardens produce. The easy passes through the divide are snow-bound in winter. When in summer you get over them, you take care to have with you your black-and-red Chinese passport engrossed by Downing Street; you look southward over hundreds of miles of the same rolling down country, apparently devoid of trees; and the higher pale green downs are streaked with snow, an occasional peak among them, such as the Matterhorn-like peak of Muss-Ta, some thirty miles to the south, rising to eternal snow at about 11,000 feet, looking remote in the bright, cold sunlight.

Even at 9,000 feet, mosquitoes are terrible at spots where crocuses are springing up under melting snow-patches, or in the reindeer-moss on the margin of some tarn. Unlike tropical mosquitoes, they bite in the warmth of the afternoon and go to bed at night.

It is said the nomads here owe no real allegiance to any civilized Power, Russian or Chinese, and they skip across the border as they please. The nearest Chinese post is Suok-Karaul, under an Amban, who takes your visiting-card, and sends you a nice message, but may be touring many miles away—anyway his abiding-place is about forty miles from Kosh-Agatch as the crow flies. Between, only rare tents and flocks of nomads or rarely wild game; and though you can see the valley where the Chinese post lies, and many miles beyond, there are no dark or light patches which would indicate trees or cultivation, though the latter may exist in the hollows.

In many places in the Mongolian Altai, as in the Siberian Altai, are luxurious displays of wild flowers. The rocks, where they outcrop from the grass, are flecked with lichenous growths, hot burnt sienna, bright rusty red, pale green, and lemon-yellow. Marmots scuttle to their burrows as you pass by, or snow partridges run about with their chicks.

In these regions there is the freedom and fascination common to high Alps, veldt, prairie, or desert. The weather changes every few hours, and within a few weeks of summer you will get a little of everything, rain-showers, hail-storms, thunder, and flurries of snow; you may look over a bank of flowers in July, in sunshine, to freshly snow-sprinkled slopes, gleaming white against an inky cloud.

On one of these days, after a week during which a hundred miles or so were covered riding about looking for game, without a solitary human being having been sighted, we saw the first natives on the Chinese side, a long line of dark cloaked figures on horseback, defiling from a sandy river-bed in a fold of the hills. Anyone who has been in Tibet will remember the sort of thing. As a precaution Powar and I kept quiet behind our rock; but next morning, after returning to our bivouac, we found a large camp—great herds of long-haired black or piebald yaks, sheep, and horses—being moved about by mounted Kalmuks. There were many big savage dogs protecting the encampment.

The purchase of a sheep opened relations, and three Mongols rode back and took me over; and I found them smiling fellows in red cloth caps, with red saddle-cloths, looking half shepherd, half monk. They offered snuff from a jar with a long-handled spoon, and cheese made of mare's milk.

Our own camp was always a mere bivouac. Yembai, the cook, had one curious talent, which consisted in tiring out fish by chasing them on foot along the shallow streams, and when they sulked in the weeds he threw himself down, plunged in his hand and brought up the fish.

THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY.—Having seen something of the two Altai's, let us now glance at the Siberian Railway, which I revisited so lately as June, 1914, with my wife and daughter, after having spent the summer in Japan.

We went by sea from Moji in Southern Japan to Dalny, and by the Manchurian Railway, controlled by Japanese, to join the Trans-Siberian at Kharbin.

At Chang Chun, the frontier station, you leave a Japanese railway world and enter a Russian one, by walking across fifty yards or so from one platform to another; Russian escorts and sentries were substituted for Japanese ones.

The train was full of Russian business men and farmers and German business agents. Failing Russian, German was the most useful language, not French, and if in the coming days Germans are not again to have it all their own way in Russian business a great, special, united, and organized effort will have to be made to compete with them. It is a most important matter, because in the strong Siberia of the future with probably a strong Russian Government of its own,



there will arise a great market for the import of machinery and manufactured articles which the settler needs.

The cultivable areas alone, without the mining districts, should eventually be able to support at least 70,000,000 people, at a very low estimate.

From the published news of the day one may judge that the future States of the Russian system are likely to have a greater independence than they have hitherto enjoyed, and East Siberia is likely to have its front door at the Pacific where so much is happening; and Arctic Russia and the estuaries of the rivers in the Arctic are likely to grow in importance.

The future importance of Siberia is likely to be enhanced by the fact that the whole of Asia is rapidly waking up to new energy; nearly every Southern Asiatic State is doing modern work for civilization to-day, old routes of ancient civilized Asia will be reopened by steam, and through Mesopotamia and Persia and Turkestan there will be exchanges by indirect steps between Siberia and Southern Asia of those northern and tropical products which are suitable for rail transport.

Coming to East Siberia from a sort of sandalwood-cabinet life in safe, orderly, long-settled Japan, the sudden change into the makeshift colonial life of East Siberia is striking.

There are rough cart-tracks instead of roads, muddy carriages and country carts, troika teams with the harness repaired with bits of rope, and roughly dressed, uncouth prairie men and miners of many races; you begin to hear stories of robbery and violence; a bank official carrying money in the streets of a large town had been attacked and murdered when in his motor-car by a gang armed with automatic pistols.

After the polite Japanese, it struck the imagination of a stranger, who was used also to the comparatively more gentle people of India and Central Africa, that this East Siberia at least was an insecure extension of a very cosmopolitan Europe which he had dropped into.

As one went north-west along the railway, one had the Mongolian frontier to the south-west of one. In the train the coming of dawn, followed by hot sunshine between two and three in the morning, disclosed a fine, treeless, prairie country, a wonderful stretch of green to the horizon, herds of ponies and cattle dotted about; and there were small lakes here and there. At a small railway stopping-off place we saw a few big Manchurians in sheepskins, looking like ancient Goths or like the big Tibetans who come to Darjeeling from the Tibet road.

For about thirty-six hours one travelled thus; and on the third morning the prairie had broken up into rolling hills with patches of forest; and at sunset we were skirting Lake Baikal; and steaming through the night round its shores we arrived soon after dawn at

Irkutsk, the capital of East Siberia. As everyone knows, there are several churches, an opera house, and fine modern shops.

Leaving this place and steaming all day, one enters in the evening a southern portion of the continuous kind of primeval forest country called "Taiga," which takes up some millions of square miles of unoccupied Northern Asia, and one passes through it all next day, reaching Krasnoyarsk only to pass into forest again—a forest chiefly of such wood as pine, larch, and birch.

The scene when stopping at a railway station in Mid-Siberia is always one of interest. The station yard is crowded with the usual country carts and carriages, and on the platform, jostling with rough prairie men, white children, Kalmuks, Manchurians, Mongolians, Kirghiz, Turkis, are also well-dressed passengers from Moscow, military and police officers, and German commercial travellers. Small Kirghiz ladies were seen in native dress, carrying gay European parasols.

They all promenade comfortably together, bargaining at the peasants' tables, which are spread under sheds on the edge of the station platform, for cooked turkeys, poultry, pork, eggs, and bread, and the samovar is always ready with hot water on tap; while the passenger carries with him on the ordinary trains his knife and fork and so buys excellent cooked meals and carries them to his compartment.

Milk was abundant at a penny or three-halfpence the quart, with the bottle; cream, butter, jam, and sometimes fish, and every kind of farm produce. I have never got better or cheaper food on any railway journey in any country.

The blonde Russian children run about barefoot, freely going into and round the train offering flowers, melons, and fruit. It is evident the people are making a successful fight in the new country, and it is paying them, for they are better off than those who stayed in Russia; and they will stimulate the old country with new ideas.

As regards the products and articles of exchange which one sees at the stations awaiting import and export, speaking superficially, there are to be observed such things as would come from a wheat, pasture, or mining country, and include grain, butter, wool, and hides; and of imports one sees sheds full of reapers and binders and other agricultural implements and machinery.

From near Omsk, up to the Ural Mountains, about thirty hours' travel, we pass through a great deal of wheat, growing on rich black soil.

Coming from crowded India, the calm of West Siberia appealed to us. It was homely as in a Southern English county; it was quieter and older than East Siberia. The feeling was strong as one slid along under a cloudy sky, past cattle deep in rich grass, or leaving their foot-prints in soft black earth; cart-tracks deep in mud cross weedy brooks.

This seems just the country for great tractors on the land. The long wheat furrows in West Siberia stretched like an unbroken sea from the railway to the horizon, with occasional dark pine bluffs breaking up the monotony of the yellow expanse. Round the towns were mixed pasture and timber. Though the snow must lie for five or six months, yet the land supports plenty of life and energy, and the people are often settled on their own land, and seem to live a better life, materially, than some of our English country labourers.

As you traverse the Urals on a summer night the climate is like a hot night in England. The rising sun finds you still going westward between finely wooded low hills. There are small lakes with fishermen's villages on their margins.

At Ufa, 200 miles west of the Urals, a halt is made; thence, going on towards Moscow, one passes wide golden prairie, wheat or stubble, or pasture with droves of horses; there are the usual small towns standing, with their stock-yards, like islands in the dips of the plains, with the wooden churches coloured green and red and with golden cupolas.

There swept across these green plains of Russia proper light wreaths of colour—yellow, deep rose, or violet, the distant effect of some wild flower.

In outward appearance Siberian scenery is repeated west of the Urals, but there appears to be a social difference; the people appear to be poorer, worse dressed, worse educated, than in West Siberia.

At noon on the fourteenth day from Dalny, having come by local ordinary trains, we entered the fine masonry terminus at Moscow.

There remain a few more photographs of the series before leaving the reminiscent part of my subject. These slides were kindly made by the Royal Geographical Society from my own negatives, and prints have already appeared in my sporting book "Through the Highlands of Siberia," published by Rowland Ward, of "The Jungle," in Piccadilly; on the earlier journey my travelling companions were Captain H. W. Seton-Karr and Messrs. Patrick and Stephen Cattley.

**SIBERIA'S PLACE IN ASIA.**—After living in England, where nearly every foot of land belongs to someone, and life is a matter of fitting oneself into artificial and conventional surroundings, these spaces of Siberia set one dreaming of the progress of a new race, away from Europe, with its back to the Urals and looking eastward, unhampered by the débris of dying prejudices. For such a future, Siberia has already many initial advantages. The belt along the railway—or not too far from the railway—known to be highly suitable for cultivation and settlement is at the lowest estimate nearly three times the size of France; and its natural communications, as distinguished from its artificial ones, are already there, in its five navigable rivers, the Irtish, Obi, Yenisei, Lena, and Amur, which have together a navigable length of nearly 11,000 miles, not taking into account, I think, the tributaries,

and the possibilities, which are said to exist, of future extension by canalization; and these rivers run for much of their length through country which will some day support prosperous colonies.

Goods and raw materials have access for interchange from north, east, and west; and when railway systems shall have been further developed in the future towards Persia, to the south-west, there will be an outlet from Siberia and Turkestan to India, that great world's reservoir of crowded humanity, of much quick intelligence and cheap labour. Labour appears to be cheap because a poor man can keep a family and give it the little clothing and shelter demanded by a tropical climate at a much smaller cost than can the inhabitants subject to a more northern and more rigorous climate, where high wages have to be asked.

I mean that India is developing before our eyes, and from an almost purely agricultural country it is rapidly becoming partly agricultural and partly industrial, and science is removing the physical barriers between the various races of Asia.

Indians are already working cotton-mills, manufacturing rolled steel joists, and are showing considerable aptitude with motor-cars and other machinery.

I happen to have had some experience of British skilled labour in Flanders and Indian skilled labour on works in the East; and I believe that when mechanical knowledge and technical education have become universal, the Southern Asiatic with his agile brains will in certain modern industries meet the European on equal terms; not that he can do so individually, but there are so many of him and he wants so little. For these reasons it appears likely that manufacturing industries may have a tendency to gravitate slowly towards the southern countries, provided they have a dense population; where brains and labour are cheap and plentiful.

But in order fully to utilize the more northern parts of Asia, where the climate is rigorous, it seems likely that it will be necessary to throw overboard all conceptions of life as lived by Western Europeans in the past. In order to develop the northern lands, so far as they are capable of development, the first necessary idea seems to be the root idea of migratory labour, either for mines or cultivation. There is believed to be rich land far north where wheat, one of the most adaptable of cereals, will flourish, and where the summer day gives some eighteen hours of sunshine.

It would be impossible to live, bring up children, build comfortable houses, supply the people with food, and carry on all the complications of educated civilization with a winter average temperature of many degrees Fahrenheit of frost, the game as we play it in temperate climates would not be worth the candle. But with quick railways and tramways and all kinds of easy transit and haulage,

agricultural machinery, and the plentiful stock of fuel, modern power-stations, well-designed tramway towns and road towns, not to speak of the aeroplane post, there seems to be no reason why suitable localities far north should be left unused because of the cold season. With transit improvements it is increasingly evident that we are doing more and more as the birds and nomadic tribes have always done; instead of sitting in one place expecting our means of livelihood to come to us, we are gaining it more and more in migratory ways.

This is shown by the migration of Italian workmen to and fro across the Atlantic; of labour between India and East Africa and Burma; and lately in the case of coal and iron, which are said to have been found in islands in the Arctic Circle.

Given the possibility at some future time of doing most work by machinery, even farm work, it does not require much imagination to foresee these lands being developed by powerful capitalist companies capable of transporting highly specialized labour to and fro, having summer farms or industries in the north and winter factories in the south at one and the same time. As I see it, the north would then be developed by well-paid, picked, hardy, capable labour, races producing cheaper labour would stay in the easier warmer south and have the food sent south to them in exchange for manufactures. Already the charitable in America have sent assistance in the shape of ship-loads of wheat to stave off famine in the Deccan of South India.

The regeneration of Russia, always supposing things settle down as we hope, is bound to be an event of the greatest importance; and if there arises out of it a semi-independent, though still Russian, Siberia, it may mean, it seems to me, the commercial quickening of the whole of Asia, whose States will most of them be able to manufacture to some extent, constantly dealing with one another and expanding their railway systems.

It is to be noted that the general trend of the river systems in Siberia is north and south, which should be an advantage, for the natural exchange of raw material on land, other things being equal, should be between north and south. As railways extend in South-West Asia, the products of temperate and tropical climates would, by local steps, be indirectly exchanged with those of the north, competing, in those products capable of being carried by rail, with the round-about sea voyage from the Baltic to the Indian Ocean.

Wood is not a very good commodity to quote, as it is generally water-borne; but I have seen the wooden sides of tea-boxes shipped at Reval for Ceylon, eventually to go out to the world full of tea; and I have seen Bokhara carpets in Nijni-Novgorod bazaar brought overland north-west by people who could speak Arabic, and similar carpets in the Bokhara court of the Allahabad Exhibition which had come from the north-west. I have helped to construct buildings in India, using

light American pine planking in the ceilings, which seems to have come a long way round; and then there are the vagaries of cotton, which grows in India close to plentiful, cheap labour and having a sure market for cotton fabrics in the huge population of India, yet my wife has bought painted Indian cottons in Agra bazaar marked with a Manchester trademark, probably made of cotton grown in America, and these fabrics come back to London as Indian curtains. Again, Europeans in India eat refined white sugar grown in French beet-fields or West Indian sugar plantations when there is sugar-cane growing round nearly every village in parts of Bengal.

It would be easy for business men to cite many instances, and I must speak with diffidence of trade, though I have had much to do with the simple building, water-supplying, or road-making labour of many races. What I want to suggest is that when knowledge and machines have spread equally, raw materials will not travel so far, and trade will be more between north and south, and that this will help the development of Siberia and Southern Asia and those countries of Western and Southern Europe which formerly obtained their tropical raw material by maritime enterprise; and in the Middle Ages before this enterprise was fully developed tropical products reached North-West Europe by difficult and devious ways, including Nijni-Novgorod or Venice, but getting there all the same.

To-day Germany and Austria, and Turkey, since the latter has practically lost Egypt, have no natural road to the south, which gives a great advantage to the States which have the command of tropical products through their hold on the sea.

Siberia will also connect up its railway systems with China, for the mountain barriers are not very difficult obstacles to railway construction.

Taking it all round, Asia and the Pacific, and especially Siberia, are likely to be very much more important in the future than they have been in the past.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Part of this paper has already been published by the Royal Geographical Society.]

Colonel PEMBERTON said his personal knowledge of Siberia was gained in the now distant pre-railway days, when in the winter of 1890-91 he spent three months there.

It was only in 1892 that the construction of the line was commenced at Zlatoust, the then terminus at the Urals of the Moscow-Samara Railway.

The Siberian Railway was one which only an autocracy would, probably, under the circumstances then obtaining, have undertaken.

He might recall the fact that it was a Russian-American engineer—Prince Khilkoff, who, associated with General Annenkoff, took a



principal part in the laying out and construction of the line—the two had been associated in the building of the Trans-Caspian Railway 1880-88—which, built perhaps primarily for strategic reasons, had the effect of developing the trade and commerce of the then lately acquired province of Russian Turkestan. Deprived from the beginning of time, for governmental reasons, of participation in political life, the Russian people, under the old régime, gave free rein to their imagination, and dwelt with pride on the immensity of their empire, its varied resources, its great potential wealth, and the great future ensured for their nation in the world. In this connection the speaker remembered being present in 1889 at a meeting of the Russian Geographical Society in Moscow, at which a paper was read on the subject of the then projected railway, and the different routes were canvassed, and he could well recall the enthusiasm evoked in the crowded audience by the unfolding of the plans contemplated for its construction and for its possible alignment across Chinese territory in Manchuria, the concession for which was some years later negotiated with the Government at Peking.

Going back to early days it was worthy of note that the Russian penetration into Siberia had its beginning more than three hundred years ago in the reign of Ivan IV.—called “The Terrible”—(1530-84), the first Tsar of Muscovy.

The conquest of the Tatar Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan gave the Russians access to the Volga and opened the way into the lands beyond that river, and the first expedition to enter Siberia was one in 1580 under the leadership of the Cossack hetman Yermak, who, however, lost his life four years later, being drowned in the River Irtysh, when the Cossacks—his followers—are said to have abandoned the country, their place being taken by hunters and adventurers attracted, among other things, by the lucrative traffic in valuable furs—Siberia being the home of the sable, still the most costly of furs.

Gradually the new-comers penetrated eastwards, soldiers and officials taking possession of the lands behind them, taxation, when instituted, taking the form of a fur tribute, which it was the duty of the Governors to collect and transmit to the Tsar.

A hundred years later Peter the Great (1672-1725) turned his attention to Siberia, corrected abuses in the administration, and issued various ordinances for the better government of the country. It is said that serfdom, religious persecutions, and conscription were among the chief causes which led to the populating of Siberia—not to mention the common-law convicts, the political prisoners and exiles, whose numbers alone during last century ran into many thousands a year.

Although Russian parties penetrated to the Amur and Pacific in the seventeenth century, the process of settling up the country had been a slow one, the colonization of Eastern Siberia having been retarded

by opposition on the part of the Chinese, who then laid claim to the valley of the Amur; but the acquisition of the maritime province (Pacific seaboard) by treaty with the Peking Government in 1861, the consequent opening of the Amur to river traffic, and, above all, the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway had greatly assisted the development of the country and transformed the situation. It may be remarked that in pre-railway days one of the chief trades was that in tea, which, packed in hides, used to be brought on pack animals across Mongolia to Irkutsk, and thence transported by sledge to Irbit in the Government of Perm—still one of the greatest of world fairs, but no longer so important a tea mart, as, owing to the opening of the Suez Canal, and the increased sea transport facilities, the bulk of the tea used in Russia was nowadays imported from the East by ship to Odessa.

When he was in Siberia in the winter of 1890-91 the railway had not been commenced, except a section at the Vladivostok end, so that he had the advantage of seeing it under the old conditions. In those days the sole mode of travel in winter-time was by sledge, fresh horses being obtained for each stage at post-houses about fifteen to twenty miles apart. Life was by no means unpleasant, the days being often bright and sunny, and conditions for everybody, whether inhabitant or traveller, easier than in Russia proper, distance from the centre of government making for greater liberty in every way; indeed, the contrast between the freedom of speech and comparative light-heartedness of the Siberian in social life and the melancholy and depressed spirits of his fellow-countryman west of the Urals was marked.

The town in which the speaker stayed longest was Yeniseisk, on the Yenisei River and outer borders of a mining district where there were considerable washings of gold, but no quartz-crushing, for the reason that machinery for the purpose was too heavy for profitable conveyance by road. In winter-time the placer industry ceased, which brought the miners into Yeniseisk for some months and livened up social life in the town.

When later he visited the mining areas he was interested to find many of the managers and engineers to be Poles, many of them elderly men banished under Nicholas I. after the Polish insurrection of 1863, who, though long since free to return to Poland, preferred to remain in the land of their exile, where they had made their homes and where, be it observed, their labours had in no small degree contributed to its development.

He might add that having visited Siberia on two occasions since 1891, spending several weeks in the country, he was fully able to share the lecturer's view as to the large population which it would be likely to support in the future.

In Western Siberia—notably in the Minusinsk district—there were

great grain-producing areas; and round Tomsk vast expanses of fine pasture, where Russian horses were raised in great numbers, and whence there was now an ever-increasing trade in dairy produce exported to Europe. But for the full development of the country yet more railways would be required, and it would, doubtless, not be long before the Trans-Caspian and Trans-Siberian lines were linked up through Semipalatinsk.

It might also be possible in the years to come to establish sea routes to the mouths of Siberian rivers, which flow into the Arctic Ocean.

The late Captain Wiggins succeeded in the eighties of last century in navigating ships with merchandise through the Kara Sea to the mouth of the Yenisei, whence the goods were conveyed up the river to the town of Yeniseisk, distribution being made from the depot established there to different parts of Siberia according to the demand for the different wares.

The venture was well supported by the British Foreign Office, and by the efforts of our Ambassador, Sir Robert Morier, a concession of free imports for a term of years was obtained from the Russian Government; but it was not subsequently renewed, and the venture did not, unfortunately, prove to be a profitable one.

Mr. E. R. P. Moon said that his experience of travel in Siberia lay between the pre-railway days of which Colonel Pemberton had spoken and the period described by the lecturer. At Tomsk he had a rather interesting experience. He had read conflicting accounts of the Siberian prison system given by de Windt and Kenman. When the Governor returned his call and asked through his secretary what he could do for him, he said with some diffidence that he would like to see a prison. The secretary readily agreed, and in the afternoon at three o'clock Mr. Moon went through one of the prisons. The governor of the prison was friendly and communicative, and he came to the conclusion that the accommodation was as good as could be reasonably expected, having regard to the general standard of living in the country; and indeed that to make it any better would be putting a premium upon crime. It reminded him of the story that men had been known to kill their mothers in order to get duly transported to Siberia. From this and other first-hand observation he came to the conclusion that hardship was not inherent in the system and that, as was the case with our prisoners of war in Germany, a very great deal depended upon the temperament of the commandant. Mr. Moon went on to describe some of his travelling experiences, and mentioned that special facilities in the shape of horse passes were provided to enable him to travel without the vexatious delays that were common.

Colonel A. C. YATE said: We are indebted for the excellent lecture which we have heard to the late Chairman of this Society, whose absence we all deeply regret, Sir Henry Trotter, who—and I feel sure

that the lecturer, a renowned sportsman, will hear it with interest—believes himself to be the first European who shot an *Ovis poli*. Colonel Pemberton, who has just spoken, referred to Prince Khilkoff, under whose auspices the Trans-Siberian Railway was constructed. It so happened that in September or October, 1890, I met at Amu Darya both General Annenkoff—who had just completed the Trans-Caspian Railway—and Prince Khilkoff, who was about to undertake the Trans-Siberian Railway. General Sir James Hills-Johnes, a member of this Society, and I had just been to the Tashkent Exhibition and were returning to Europe. General Annenkoff not only showed us round the barracks, etc., but hospitably entertained us at lunch. All who know anything of the Indian Army know how gallantly Sir James won, as a R.A. subaltern, his Victoria Cross, in front of Delhi; but not so many know that the lameness which he carries and will carry to the end is due to a wounded wild boar which he followed up on foot into a patch of sugar-cane. Whether he found the wild boar or the mutinous sepoy the unpleasantest fellow to tackle we must leave Sir James to decide. It is my business to tell you how I saw him face a third ordeal which I am inclined to think he found more trying than the other two. General Annenkoff, at the close of lunch, made a kind little speech in French, welcoming us to the banks of the Oxus. It was incumbent upon Sir James, whose career had familiarized him more with war and sport than with the “parlez-vous,” to reply in the same language, and I can but say that the courage with which he faced it was eclipsed neither on the Long Ridge nor amid the sugar-cane. He issued triumphant from the trial, and, were “bars” for such triumphs, a “bar” would justly have been his.

Apropos of the exploration and colonization of Siberia, Colonel Pemberton will doubtless remember a book which I picked up at Cambridge last August.\* That book taught us that the enterprise, foresight, and energy which individual Britons had shown in building up the great British Empire, individual Russians had equally shown in annexing Siberia and opening up trade with China. Furs and rhubarb had alike been mentioned in the lecture and discussion as great articles of commerce. The Rev. W. Coxe concluded his volume with a chapter on “Tartarian Rhubarb,” which he contends is superior to Indian. My knowledge of wild rhubarb is confined to that which we found on Afghan hills and which we relished in a measure as a relief to commissariat rations in the second Afghan War.

As regards the future of railways, connecting Siberia with Central Asia and, through Central Asia, with Afghanistan, Persia, and India,

\* “Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, and the Conquest of Siberia,” by the Rev. William Coxe, Rector of Bemerton. Fourth edition. London, 1808.

it is a large and lengthy subject which can only be glanced at. Omsk will be united via the Irtysh valley and Vernoe with the Trans-Caspian Railway system, and so with the Caucasus and Orenburg. Afghanistan cannot go on indefinitely resisting the introduction of railways—such a policy is suicidal. The Russian danger on the Oxus is no longer an incubus, and as aeroplane services are about to permeate the entire globe, a veto on railways is absurd. The Nuskhi-Mirjawa Railway will soon dive deeper into Persia and not improbably link up with the Trans-Caspian, as also, of course, will the line which must, sooner or later, connect Merv via Herat and Kandahar with the railways of India.

We have this evening listened to a lecture and been shown illustrations which set before our eyes the scenery of Siberia and its life and industries, subjects of which most of us know little or nothing. We owe a debt of gratitude to the lecturer for coming here to enlighten us.

A MEMBER of the audience said that his observation of the prison system in Siberia did not confirm that of Mr. Moon. He saw prisoners in cages surrounded by sentries with fixed bayonets and herded like cattle. He visited a central prison where the crowding and insanitary condition was indescribable. The officer who took him round begged him not to go nearer to the groups of prisoners than a few yards because they were dangerous people. The reports which were made by earlier writers on the prison life in Siberia seemed amply confirmed to him. On the other hand, at another place where he was taken round the prison by General Kropatkin he found that the sanitary and other arrangements were on a modern basis.

What struck him more than anything else in travelling through Siberia was the independence of the people, the high state of culture among the better classes, and the eagerness for education. Peasants who had settled in the country were sending their children to European Russia for education at the high schools and universities. These young men and women went back to Siberia highly educated, and it struck him at the time that if Russia was ever to be regenerated it would in all probability be regenerated from Siberia, where the people were advancing by leaps and bounds. He felt certain that Siberia would become a distinct nation.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of thanks was accorded to Colonel Swayne for his lecture.

## CHINA

A MEETING of the Society was held on December 11, 1918, at which the Chair was taken by General Sir Edmund Barrow, who was General Sir Alfred Gaselee's Chief of the Staff on the Expedition to Peking in 1900 to relieve the Legations beleaguered there by the Boxer Rebels.

Mr. J. O. P. BLAND gave an illustrated lecture on "China," the excellence of which makes us regret that it was delivered extempore, and cannot, therefore, be reproduced verbatim. "The lecturer held his audience well for sixty-five minutes with an address fluently and admirably delivered, and showing a thorough grasp of the subject. It were to be wished he could speak to a wider audience."\* Private letters from one or two of the members of the Society present definite features of the lecture which admit of reproduction here. The period treated was from the Suppression of the Manchus to the beginning of the World War. The lecturer anticipated that he would be running counter to the opinions of many present when he applied to the China of to-day the recognized principle that representative institutions were not fitted to backward peoples, especially when such backward peoples were non-European. He illustrated the impossibility of Chinese methods of procedure by sundry stories, of which the most tangible, as reported, is the following:—

The opposing artillery commanders at the siege of Nankin came to an arrangement by which firing only took place at certain times, when the opposing artillerymen could be securely protected. When an energetic officer on one side contravened this arrangement, he was cut in pieces by his troops.

This meagre note of the lecture is recorded merely as a peg upon which to hang a discussion which proved to be of decided importance.

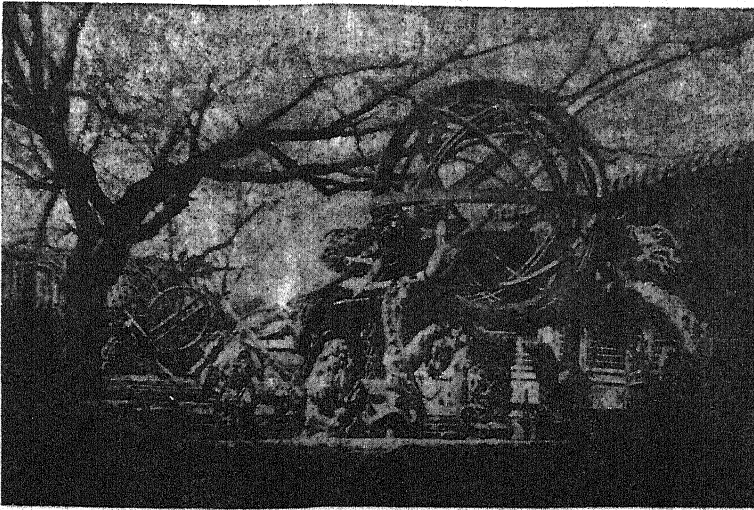
The CHAIRMAN said the interesting lecture they had heard contained not only a great deal of information, but a very considerable substratum of truth as to the evolution and prospects of China in the future. He thought that the audience would agree with him that the lecture had been too short. Mr. Bland's time might have been exhausted by the clock, as he told them, but they could very well have listened to him for another half-hour. He hoped Mr. Bland

\* Private letter from Sir Edmund Barrow, December 11, 1918.



would put his views in a shape that could reach the public generally, which required education not only about China, but about democracy generally. He had thrown quite a new light on the position of China since 1911. He (the Chairman) had no idea before he came to the lecture that China was in such a state of desolation at the present time, and that there had been such a terrible loss of life. In fact, as often happened in life, his ideas of China were limited in large degree by recollections of the China he knew, and that he had not been in the country since 1902.

Mr. H. B. MORSE\* said he had known China longer than Mr. Bland had. If there were points on which he disagreed with him, he must acknowledge that he had given him seriously to think upon them.



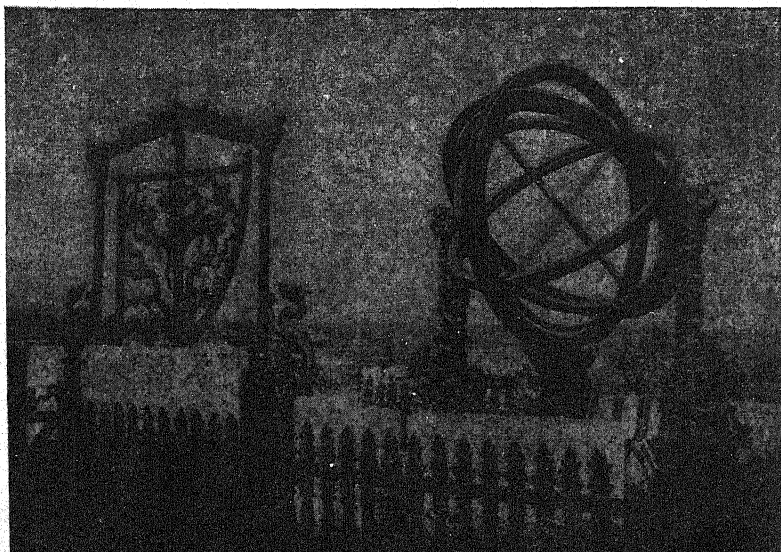
ANCIENT MONGOLIAN ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS.

With most of the opinions Mr. Bland had expressed he was in full agreement. He wished to assure the audience that the situation was to the full as serious as Mr. Bland had indicated.

Colonel PEMBERTON said the lecture had been one of consummate ability, and informed by long sojourn in China and considerable acquaintance with the people and general features of the country. Mr. Bland had been a messenger of despair rather than of hope. He would be sorry to think that there were not elements of hope in China to a larger degree, perhaps, than the lecturer had suggested. Of course, China had suffered from political weakness for hundreds of years past. The Manchu dynasty was effete, but there could be no

\* Author of "The International Relations of the Chinese Empire."

element of permanence in a policy of leaving the people alone so long as they paid tribute to the ruling dynasty. In so great an empire, as Mr. Bland had pointed out, a strong executive was necessary. Without such even democratic government was impossible—it became the mere plaything of the more violent party which always arose in such circumstances. But surely it was inevitable that the Manchu dynasty should have had to give way to something else. With the Manchus in power in 1900, it was the merest chance that the greatest tragedy in the world's history did not take place; that the Legations were saved at the last moment; that such elements of civilization as there were in China were not swept bodily away, to be replaced by blood-



ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE JESUITS.

shed and retribution which would have set the hands of the clock back for years. It seemed to him that there was no justification for the continuation of the Manchu dynasty, and that being the case, surely something had to take its place.

They could depend upon it that it was better, rather than to retain the dynasty, to go through the troubles of the Revolution, with all the suffering thereby entailed. Nations must suffer like individuals in order to arrive at better conditions and more peaceful conditions for the world at large. Would any of them in that room wish that Russia should return to the condition of things as they existed a year or two back? They all deplored Bolshevism, which was the negation of

government; but this was one of the perils encountered in striving for better things. Reaction would surely come, and a more stable form of government would arise on the ruins and wreckage of the present revolutionary movement.

He agreed with Mr. Bland that social regeneration must go hand in hand and must almost precede the increase of political power for the people of China. It would have been a happy thing if China, under a strong executive government, had been building up a regenerated social system. But this had not been done, and China, like all great nations, would have to work out her own destiny. The Chinese character being what it was, this would be a matter of time, and we must have patience. The results would work themselves out slowly, and they must be hopeful, whatever the form of government to be evolved. They all knew the drawbacks of democracy. It might be theoretically a fine form of government, and at any rate it was a form which had come to stay. We must in any case make the best of it and educate the masses, and then it might indeed become the best class of government. Certainly in China some other form of government than that of the revival of the Manchu dynasty was necessary.

As regards the feeding of the people, China was a country full of resources. Its wheat areas were very extensive—almost, if not quite, equal to those of Canada or the United States. They had been shown pictures of famine conditions such as are stated to exist from time to time in China; but, this being the case, he asked, Was it right, when such conditions obtained, that corn should be exported from the country? Surely if the population was suffering from lack of food any government, to put it mildly, would be within its right in prohibiting such shipments. Such, at least, would certainly be the step that would be taken by any government with public opinion behind it. But no government, such as was that of the Manchu dynasty, would dream of interfering, and rather would it just allow the deplorable economic conditions to take their course.

Finally, he wished to say what a pleasure it was to the members of the Society to see General Barrow in the chair that afternoon, and he would conclude by saying that their Honorary Secretary, Colonel Yate, had asked him to express his great regret at his inability to be present. He had also asked him to say that he was strongly of opinion that as a result of the Peace Conference the astronomical instruments of great value and antiquity which were taken by Germany from China in 1900 should be returned. He (the speaker) might add that, when passing through Germany in 1908 on his way to the Far East, he saw these instruments as set up at Potsdam in the vicinity of the Kaiser's Palace. Going on across Siberia to China later in the year, he saw the void spot on the walls of Peking where

the instruments had been for so many centuries. He entirely agreed with Colonel Yate that restitution should be made.

The CHAIRMAN said he was glad the last speaker had referred to the astronomical instruments taken by the Germans from Peking, for he happened to know as much about the subject as most people. He was Chief of the Staff in China during the Boxer Expedition, and most of the discussion on the subject went through his hands. He was directly engaged in negotiations with the various authorities of different nations there assembled. The Germans and the representatives of other Powers, some of whom were now our Allies, drew up between them a scheme for the distribution amongst them of these marvellous astronomical instruments which adorned the walls of Peking. They were beautiful specimens of art, and were understood to be also very good for their immediate scientific purpose. The proposed distribution did not commend itself to the British and American authorities, and the commanders of the forces of those two Powers put in a very strong protest against the proposal. There were heated discussions on the subject and much writing, most of which he did. The result was that the Allies generally decided not to share the loot. But two or three of the Powers were not at all satisfied with that solution. The next stage was that the Germans shipped their portion, and probably some of our portion as well, to Berlin. The French lodged a few instruments in their Legation, whence he believed they were eventually shipped to Marseilles; but under the orders of the French Government they were at once returned to China. He had lost sight of what happened after that. He entirely agreed regarding the desirability of restoring those beautiful works of art to their proper place on the walls of Peking.

They had been told that the Manchus were bound to go, and that something else had to take their place. Well, the ordinary course in China had been a change of dynasty. If a dynasty was effete or tyrannical, someone else had come along to replace it. That method had served China very well for many thousands of years. What had now happened, however, was to substitute for a dynasty a species of government which was entirely unsuited to the Chinese character. The point Mr. Bland had sought to impress upon them was that democracy was not suitable to China, even if it were suitable to nations nearer home. He thought that everyone who knew China well would agree with that view.

*Note by Hon. Sec.*—It appears that Germany finally repented of having taken the instruments, which, however, are still at Potsdam. The German offer to return them is said to have been made after a fashion which Chinese pride and dignity could not brook. One thing is certain, and that is that the discussion on December 11, 1918, at

22, Albemarle Street, led to action which at least will enable the Chinese Government to now reclaim their instruments if they want them.

A. C. YATE,

*Hon. Sec., C.A. Soc.*

*P.S.*—The two photographs of the astronomical instruments at Peking, which are here reproduced, were taken by Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate in March, 1898.

*NOTE.*—*The Times* of March 19, 1919, p. 9, col. 2: "The German Government has decided to return to China the astronomical instruments which were transported from Peking to Germany in 1900. Negotiations have been opened for the shipping of the instruments to China."—*Wireless Press*, through the wireless stations of the German Government.

## THE NUSHKI RAILWAY AND SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ON WHICH IT BEARS

BY COLONEL WEBB WARE, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, February 12, 1919, at 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., when Colonel Webb Ware, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., delivered a lecture on "The Nushki Railway and Some of the Problems on which it Bears." Lord CARNOCK presided.

The proceedings were opened by Lord LAMINGTON, who said: Ladies and gentlemen, there is just a little preliminary business before the actual reading of the paper takes place. I have great pleasure, as a very old member of the Society, and I think one of its Vice-Presidents—certainly on the Council—in introducing to you our new chairman, Lord Carnock. We think ourselves extremely fortunate in his answering in the affirmative our request for his services as chairman of this Society. Lord Carnock, better known, perhaps, as Sir Arthur Nicholson, has done such wonderful service in diplomacy on behalf of the Empire, and is so well versed, too, from the fact of his having been for years Ambassador at Petrograd, in all matters appertaining to the Near and Middle East, that I think with him as chairman the Society, useful as has been, I trust, in the work it has done in the past, will be in a position to earn even greater respect, and have its lectures better known and better attended by the outside public than even has been the case in the past. With these words of introduction, I should like now to bring him to your notice, and ask him to accept the position of chairman, and occupy it for the first occasion after his election at this evening's meeting, when, I think, a particularly interesting paper is to be brought to your notice. I regret that I have another meeting to go to, so that it will not be my good luck to listen to that narration of events which is now to be put before you.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I feel highly flattered by the very kind—I think too kind—words which Lord Lamington has spoken in introducing me on the first occasion of my addressing you in this room. I must say that I felt very considerable hesitation, and



certainly very great diffidence, in accepting the post with which the Council was kind enough to honour me, as I felt that I should very inadequately fill that post, in which I have had predecessors with far more intimate and far more direct knowledge than I have of the subjects and questions which are usually brought before you, discussed and debated in this room. Still, I felt that, after the very kind way in which they had offered me the post, it would be most churlish on my part to decline; and I am sure that I can rely on your good nature and that of my colleagues in overlooking any shortcomings on my part. At the same time I can assure you, and here I feel on quite safe ground, that I shall to the very best of my ability endeavour to promote the prosperity and further the interests of the Central Asian Society during my tenure of office. Now, it is my duty to introduce to you Colonel Webb Ware, who is going to give us a very interesting lecture, I am sure, on an important question, which is the extension of railway communication from India to Persia. I do not know of anybody better qualified to speak on the subject, as I know that Colonel Webb Ware has passed many years in Baluchistan and in those districts. I therefore beg to introduce him.

Colonel WEBB WARE then read his paper.

The subject of my lecture is the Nushki-Sistan Railway and some of the problems to which it relates; but as the railway which has just been completed to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier conforms in general detail to the alignment traversed by the caravan route which was opened to trade in the year 1896-97, and as this railway is merely the further development of trade by this route, the story of the two are the same, and it follows that the causes which operated to influence the Government of India in deciding to open direct communication by railway with Persia are those which, to a large extent, led up, in the first case, to the establishment of the overland trade route. To obtain a comprehensive view of the trade and other problems on which we will shortly touch, it will assist if we pass before us, but in very cursory review, the history of those trade routes which connected the Old and New Worlds, but before proceeding to do so it will be as well to turn to the map and, after studying it, to keep in mind such of the more important geographical features as have made their influence on trade felt in the past, and are as likely to do so in the future.

India is a continent shut in, on two sides, by the sea, and on the north by the greatest mountain barrier on the globe. This barrier extends from Nepal, on the east, to the Hindu Kush, where it is joined by the northern extension of the Suleiman Range, a range which, taking off to the west of our port of Karachi, runs in an almost unbroken line north, and guards all approach to the Indus from the west. East of Nepal, as far as Burma, we find a series of mountain ranges running,

not east and west, but north and south. These, with the rivers which flow between them, prevent ready access by land to India from that side.

Let us cross the Suleiman Range, with its lateral mountain system, and take a bird's-eye view of the regions stretching from their western foot right away towards the Caspian Sea. Let us suppose we are seated in an aeroplane flying at a height which no aeroplane engineer has yet contemplated. We are passing a hundred miles above Central Afghanistan, and, on looking down from this elevation, what do we see? Behind us is the dark line of the Suleiman Range. At this height it has the appearance of a black line, ruled on the ground, with a series of shadings on its western side, more marked on the southern side, which indicate the low lateral chains between which are the valleys which give access to the plains of India. Here lie the approaches which, in past ages, have seen the passage of migrating masses of clotted humanity, impelled by forces of which we have but a dim perception; but that fear, deadly fear, often lay behind and peace and safety in front is open to no question: valleys which have resounded to the tramp of conquering host after host, and down which the centuries have seen the busy merchant hurrying to markets where he could dispose of his wares to the best advantage, and make equally profitable purchases in return. East of the Suleiman Range lies India, represented by a large emerald-green mass with a khaki edging on the nearer side. The Hindu Kush, from here, takes on itself the appearance of a broad black band, cut out in silver, with many pin-points which sparkle in the sunlight like diamonds. From the point of junction of the Suleiman another line takes off which heads almost due west. Well defined on the east—for it is the Paropomisus Range—it narrows down to the west, where it joins yet another dark line which runs almost due south, until it, in turn, merges in a black shadow which skirts the edge of the Persian Gulf. This mountain line—and attention is directed to this, for it is a matter which will figure largely in what I will shortly have to say—lies to all practical purposes parallel to, but at a distance of several hundreds of miles from, the Suleiman Range. At the elevation from which we are gazing the country below presents the appearance of a large parallelogram outlined on three sides by the dark bands indicating the mountain chains, and with the sea on the southern side. Within this parallelogram lies the greater part of Afghanistan from which we are debarred, and the whole of British Baluchistan. It is through Afghanistan, which forms the upper half of this parallelogram, that all those land trade routes which for century on century connected the Western and the Eastern worlds passed. Beyond the western mountain line we see a broad dead white band of plain stretching from south-east to north-west. At first we take this for water, but when examined through powerful glasses we find it is merely desert, covered with a leprous salt efflorescence which gives it the appearance of a sea.

This is the great desert, the bed of an Old World sea, which, extending in an almost unbroken band from the Caspian to the naked, arid, rocky mountain chain which stretches down to the Persian Gulf, divides Persia into two unequal parts, and shuts off Afghanistan and the Persian province of Khorassan from the west. Inert although this desert appears, lying there so calm and peaceful in the sunlight, yet never a century has passed without its having emphasized its existence in some unmistakable way. The subject is a fascinating one, but I must not loiter. Let it suffice to say that this desert has acted as one of the arms of a vast corral, and has headed east a succession of hordes which, on finding that the route to the west was closed to them, have turned east and entered India. It has protected Persia, and with it Western civilization, but not always successfully, from incursion after incursion of a ferocity of which the late war was only a faint parallel; and throughout the ages it has formed one, and by no means the least important, of India's outlying defences from Western aggression. Just visible below us, with the silver, crescent-shaped button at the end, is the River Helmand, with the Naizar, Hamun Sistan, and God-i-Zirreh, the triplicate lake system into which it discharges. Beyond the Paropomismus Range we can see what appears to be an endless plain stretching away north to the horizon. These are the Turkestan steppes with their southern fringe of desert. The two green bands which run from south-east to north-west mark the course of those great rivers, the Sir Darya and the Amu Darya, which discharge into the Sea of Aral, and the blaze of silver glory on the horizon farther west is the Caspian Sea itself.

We must continue, but before doing so I would invite your special attention to the immense desert, otherwise the great "Lut" or "Kavir"—the names by which it is perhaps more generally known—that we see beyond the western mountain chain. Running from north-west to south-east, it is continuous from the base of the Elburz Range, which overlooks the Caspian Sea on its south side to the hills of the Sarhad, which form here the boundary-line between British Baluchistan and Persia, and which separate—and here the range is merely a narrow rock wall—the old sea basin from the sandy desert of British Baluchistan. The traveller who is journeying from west to east and finds this desert lying athwart his path has the selection of one of three courses. He may avoid it by skirting round its northern or southern extremity, a course which he would follow if he is approaching it from the north-west or south-west sides, or he may decide to cross it. Should he be travelling east from the Black Sea or Teheran, he would adopt the first course, but if on his way from Bandar Abbas, on the Persian Gulf, to Sistan and Afghanistan, he would probably decide—always provided the route is safe, which is by no means the case—to follow up the narrow western glaciis of the Sarhad Range, keeping midway between the range

and the edge of the "Lut" basin. Should our traveller, however, be so unfortunate as to hit the desert anywhere near its centre, there is no other course open but to brace himself to the inevitable and plunge holdly into that desolate region, from 100 to 200 miles broad, which lies before him. Should he decide on this, he must be careful not to stray off the path—by no stretch of imagination can it be termed a road—of which there are several crossing it, at varying distances. The first warning he receives that he is approaching desert will be meeting bands of sand which thin out as he advances. Interspersed with these are stretches of "dasht" or black gravel, plain. Finally he will emerge on the Kavir, or waterless desert, itself. In different places the Kavir presents somewhat different features, but in the main it is a rolling surface covered with a leprous Shora encrustation or with a sticky-looking salt efflorescence. Break through this—for it is a mere crust—and below will be found a thick, viscid mud which never dries, no matter what may be the season of the year, for water lies not far below. The track, or rather series of tracks, for there are usually six or eight running parallel, and within a few feet of one another, are merely shallow hollows impressed on the ground by the feet of passing pack-animals. The only wells are those which mark some of the more permanent desert stages, and to lose one's way on the Kavir is to be exposed to grave risk. There is nothing to guide one other than the track itself, which is not easily found if one is so foolish as to stray off it. The temptation to do so is, however, small, for the salty crust wounds one's horse's feet, which has a difficulty in maintaining its footing on the insecure surface which every step exposes. In depressions are pools filled with a green, evil-looking, stagnant water. These need to be approached with care, for many an incautious traveller has vanished on the Kavir without leaving a trace behind. Should a rain-storm be encountered at any of the many bad places passed in crossing, then all the wayfarer can do is to halt where he chances to be, as the surface at once becomes so slippery and treacherous that pack-animals cannot move. The Kavir is the last word in desolation. The traveller trusts himself to its surface with trepidation and emerges from it with joy, and the effect it has on the mind of the person crossing it is extreme depression mixed with a foreboding of coming misfortune. Absolute silence prevails unless, as is so frequently the case, a driving wind, icy in winter and a furnace-blast in summer, is blowing across it.

But this desert possesses other latent powers of evil. Some thirty years ago it was found that the periodic swarms of locusts which caused so much damage in South Africa radiated from a point having the Kalahari Desert as its centre. The flights of locusts which, from time to time, devastate Russian Turkestan and Morocco have their radiating centre in the neighbouring great deserts. Sind,

with the Punjab, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan, suffer from their periodic locust visitations, with losses which may extend into hundreds of thousands of pounds and involve the lives of many human beings. By tracing a series of locust flights back, I was able to establish the fact that the radiating centre of the swarms from which these four countries suffer lay in the great Persian desert. Whether science will ever be able to overcome this pest is, at present, a matter of some doubt, but should it ever find the means of doing so, the fact that we have now ascertained where the permanent centre of this baneful activity lies will go far to assist us. For the information of those interested in this subject it may be said that before a parent breeding swarm of locusts can be launched from the Lut on its career of devastation, which may, and frequently does, extend over a period of one or even more years—the life of the individual locust is comparatively brief, but as the swarm advances it establishes supplementary breeding centres at suitable places, and these carry on the evil—a certain remarkably delicate combination of circumstances embracing rain and heat must take place, and sometimes years elapse before this particular combination can work out. We may, therefore, regard these locust epidemics as being due to delicately adjusted Nature mines sown in the desert, which come automatically into action when a certain complex combination of climatic circumstances take place.

Hitherto we have been gazing down on the country with which we have been dealing from a comparatively modest elevation. Let us now rise to a height of a few more hundred miles, and see how the world to the west appears from there. If we do so, we can see at a glance that there are only three true avenues of approach to India from the Mediterranean Sea. These are from—

1. The Black Sea.
2. The Eastern Mediterranean littoral and overland to and through the Persian Gulf.
3. Down the Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea.

By turning to history, we find that these are precisely the three routes which Indo-European trade followed, and that, in very brief outline, their history stands somewhat as follows:

The oldest and most important of these routes is the Dardanelles-Black Sea direct Indian and Chinese trade route. Of immense age, this route would appear to have been in use as far back as we can go. Just emerging from the twilight of human knowledge and the mists of antiquity, we are conscious of a great, busy, pulsating population which occupied what was, later on, known as Sogdiana and Bactria—that is to say, the upper regions of the Jazartes and Oxus. They formed a small residue of the large Aryan masses which at one time extended far away to the east, and from which portions broke off:

one making its way into Europe; another crossing the Caucasus; a third moving into Persia, where it settled; and yet another into India. The Greeks, with their great love of freedom, their philosophy, their art and culture, and their lofty aspirations, were, as we know, merely the spray thrown forward by one of these great Aryan waves. Themselves keen traders, the Greeks established colonies all along the Ægean coast and Black Sea littoral, and it was through the medium of these colonies and their shipping that trade flowed from the Mediterranean and Black Sea, by land, to India. Not only did this road present no inherent difficulty, but it offered the most direct route to those Indian and Chinese centres which were in view, and it traversed, almost throughout its entire length to India, a well-watered, well-cultivated, populous and friendly country. At what we may regard as the comparatively recent period of the old Persian Empire, the Governorship of Bactria and Sogdiana carried with it the second highest dignity in the kingdom, and a rank next to that of the Great King himself. At this time Bactria, with its thousand rich and populous cities, was provided with an elaborate system of frontier defence, resting on a strong military force, and was supplied with posting roads and such other conveniences and amenities for travellers and merchants as the civilization of that period required. It is more than probable that the Trojan War, stripped of all poetical licence and embroidery, was, as has indeed been claimed for it, merely a sordid quarrel between two Greek factions, one of which claimed the right to levy dues on all shipping passing through the Dardanelles Narrows, and was determined to enforce this claim; and another which, with far greater economic intuition, contested this right, and had resort to force of arms to resist it. Ilium proved, on examination, to be merely a small fortified outpost. Should this explanation of the Trojan War be correct, and there is strong reason for believing that it is, then the dispute was evidently a protracted one, for Schlieman's excavations showed that no less than six separate strongholds had been built, and been destroyed by fire. The fair lady that was wooed and fought for so strenuously, and whose charms were sung by the ancient bard, would therefore seem to have been the Lady "Commerce" whom nations have wooed and fought for from the earliest ages, and for whose favours they will doubtlessly continue to fight for ages to come.

What was it that led to the interruption of this great trunk trade route? The answer will be found in the large military forces which the Persians found it necessary to *contoon* in Bactria, and in the strong Greek army that Alexander the Great detached when there to protect his rear and guard his line of communications. We might note, in passing, that when Alexander conquered Bactria he found a people resident there who claimed to be of Greek descent, worshipped Dionysios, and adhered to Greek customs and modes of life. The danger then was clearly a military one, and it came from



the northern side. It related to those vast savage nations to whom the ancient historian has given so many names, such as the "Sakai or Scythians," the "Cimmerians," the "Galatians," and who extended in an almost unbroken wall to the east of a line drawn from the Baltic to what is now Eastern Afghanistan. They were all Turanian, and with true Turanian instincts they were animated by a desire which, when it rose to the height of one of its periodic pulsations of barbaric energy, amounted almost to frenzy to attack, destroy, trample under foot, and pollute all that is beautiful in civilization and sacred in religion. The contest between the barbarism of the East and the culture and civilization of the West has continued without intermission throughout the centuries. Perhaps the historian of the future will trace in the recent conflict but one of its manifestations. We know that Eastern Europe, with Hungary and the Balkans, was eventually penetrated, but not until a comparatively recent epoch. The first part of the wall to collapse was where the pressure was greatest, which was from the southern shores of the Caspian to the Hindu Kush. Wave after wave of those savage desert tribes, the Scythians, the Yuen-Chi, the White Huns, and the Northern Turks, drove south into this unfortunate country, and, impinging against the great desert barrier, were headed off to a great extent from Persia, and moved south and east, carrying misery and devastation in their track, as far as Northern India, into which they penetrated. The great direct land trade route to India from the Black Sea first became insecure and then dropped so completely out of use that its existence almost became forgotten. A certain amount of trade, it is true, continued to percolate through, more especially from China, but it was intermittent, and the glories of the great overland trunk route disappeared. The Nushki-Sistan trade route and railway were planned to serve, from the south, the region east of the great desert which the old eastern trade route served from the north, but by a way that trade had never previously passed.

With the abandonment of the "great eastern trade route" to India another route had to be sought, and this was found in the Ægean Sea-Persian Gulf route. In itself it was an exceedingly ancient route, but it possessed disadvantages from which its eastern rival did not suffer. The pushing Greek trader of the Ægean Sea littoral was not of a type to neglect such an admirable market as was offered him in Chaldea for his wares, nor did he do so. The oldest high road, in the sense of a properly levelled, engineered road, equipped with stone bridges and paved, history records, was the old Hittite "Royal road" which ran from near modern Smyrna to the head of the riverine system of the Persian Gulf, which at that time penetrated a distance of rather more than 150 miles farther inland than it does at present. The Babylonian was a pushing, active, astute dealer, and his country,

which owed its wealth to her wonderful system of cultivation, needed much which the Greek merchant could supply, and had much to dispose of which the dweller on the Mediterranean shore prized, and from this resulted an intercommunication which conformed to the shortest route available. It has been established that at an extremely remote period in history trade passed by sea to and fro up the west coast of India and through the Persian Gulf. The Gulf trade route had its own particular disabilities, such as the dues which were imposed by the military power which controlled Asia Minor; the exactions from which trade suffered from freebooters, for even in those remote times the Persian Gulf had an unhappy reputation for piracy—it will be recalled how, in later Assyrian times, first Sargon and then Sennacherib engaged in campaigns against the sea kings of the Gulf, which eventually ended in their utter destruction; the closing, at a period when ships were narrow, cramped, and unseaworthy, of this route to navigation for several months in the year, while the "Etesian," or monsoon, winds were blowing; and the fact that when its trade did eventually reach some Indian port it had still a difficult, and in many cases a dangerous, journey of several hundred miles up-country before it could reach the markets where its goods could be profitably disposed of.

With the disuse of the great east trade route, the Gulf route rapidly rose in importance, and, as the centuries pass in review before us, we see a series of bitterly contested campaigns fought in the Seleucide, Parthian, Roman, Sassanian, Arab, and later Mahommedan times. In the Crusades the careful student of history will trace but one of the many attempts made to control the trade of the East, and we may accept with assurance that one of the several causes which conduced to the recent world conflict was the bid which Germany was making for this trade, despite the great changes which the past fifty years had seen. It was, of course, the final passing of the Gulf trade route into the stifling power of the Ottoman Turks, which resulted from the fall of Constantinople in 1453, that led to the discovery of America, the attempt to find the North-West passage, and the finding in 1477 of the all-sea route to India, with all that this great discovery has meant to England. In medieval times, trade by the Ægean-Persian Gulf route for Eastern Persia, what is now Afghanistan, and India was disembarked at Hormuz, the modern Bandar Abbas, whence it travelled, on pack-animals, by direct overland route to Sistan and so up the Helmand to India. This route, from the descriptions left us by Arab travellers and historians, was evidently a well-known one, for scattered at intervals along it were towns crowded with eager traffickers. Trade for Northern and Central Persia, Central Asia and China, did not touch the Persian Gulf, but went direct from Babylon, Ctesiphon, or Baghdad, as the case might be, via the great "Khorassan road," to Kermanshah, and thence through Hamadan, whence it skirted the north of the great

desert. From here it made for Nisharpur direct, and so passed on to Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand. A certain amount of trade was shipped from the head of the Gulf to Tiz, on the Mekran coast, and to Daybul, at the mouth of the Indus, but this trade would seem to have passed respectively to what is now British Baluchistan and to the lower valley of the Indus as far up that river as Multan.

The third route from the Mediterranean to India was the Red Sea route. Until the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, this route always stood third in importance, as compared to the other two. Like those, it was well known in ancient days, and by it the Egyptians at the time of the Pharaohs carried on a considerable maritime commerce. While this was confined, for the most part, to Arabia and the East Coast of Africa, yet their voyages extended to India. In the reverence paid in both countries to the sacred bull we see the transfer of the religious thought which this intercourse occasioned. Unfortunately for their trade, the Egyptian Pharaohs regarded the Mediterranean nations with jealous distrust, and their political policy was one of rigid isolation and exclusion. Traders reaching their confines from without were stopped by frontier guards, who took over their goods, appraised their value, with the assistance of trade experts, and paid for them in money or kind. The Egyptian merchant himself was proud, arrogant, and narrow-minded. Despite this, trade by the Red Sea route had its well-recognized place in Old World commerce, and it was doubtlessly to divert the profits of this commerce that Solomon acquired the port of Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. The tide of prosperity and commercial activity which immediately rewarded this statesmanlike move, bear equal evidence to the value of the trade passing down the Red Sea at the time; to the wisdom and foresight of this great King; and to the folly and supineness of his successor. In the times of the Ptolemys, Egyptian trade was regarded from a very much more liberal and progressive standpoint, with a result which is reflected in the marked advance this period saw in Egyptian wealth. The great obstacle, however, to trade by this route was one which has extended right away down to late Mahommedan times, and was the open Arabian Sea, which ships had to navigate on emerging from the narrow straits. The passage of an open sea presented very real terrors to the Old World sailor in his small, unseaworthy vessel, and with the very elementary knowledge of navigation he possessed, and this was especially the case at a time when he preferred to draw up his barque at night on the sea-beach, or, if the coast was an inhospitable one, to anchor it just outside where the waves broke. Subject as it was to violent monsoon storms, the Arabian Sea was always dreaded. This route had the further handicap that commerce transmitted by it to an Indian port had still the long and dangerous up-country journey.

It may be of interest to recall that the Red Sea route, so long

regarded with feelings of almost indifference, was fated in the end to far outdistance its rivals. Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks; the all-sea route to India was discovered; commerce was diverted from the Mediterranean, and the power of Venice, through which the trade of the East passed for so long, gradually sank. From time to time attempts were made to restore the glories of the Persian Gulf route, mostly by Venetians, but some by English merchants anxious to find a quicker way than the all-sea route to that India which lay so near, but none ever succeeded. The Turk, whose character we know so well, was just the same then as he is now. No enterprise in which his personal co-operation is required could, or can, succeed. The contest of the rival trade routes finally terminated, we know, by the construction of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Suez and by the transit of cargoes, which not only pass to India down the Red Sea, but, more significant still, pass on from thence up the Persian Gulf itself.

We have had occasion to refer to the great conqueror Alexander, and to the part he played on the stage of old-time commerce; but, forming as his age does the dividing-line between the former and later ancient worlds and their trade, and as it is from his time that so many changes in trade conditions date which extended down almost to the present, we might do well to pause a moment to observe in what light he regarded commerce.

Underlying every great act which Alexander the Great's genius gave birth to, there was some well-defined controlling motive, which, in many cases, did not make itself manifest for generations. The task which Alexander the Great set himself was much more than the mere conquest of the then world's greatest and most civilized Empire, for this was but a part—a basic part although it may be—of a vast scheme which aimed at the hellenizing of Persian civilization and the erection on its foundation of a great Greek Empire which was to be the glory illuminating the world, and was to project its beneficent rays to all four quarters, convey liberty to a debased and enslaved world, uplift humanity, and provide ideals which were to contain all that was great, and noble, and true. To first gain, then build up, and afterwards maintain such an Empire, military conquest, supplemented later by the development of all the material resources his conquests brought with them, was essential, and so we find that in all he did Alexander was careful to bear this in mind. With what meticulous care did he refrain from any act or word calculated to arouse or offend the religious feelings or prejudices of his new subjects, and how quick he was to avail himself of any political advantage any such offered! How careful he was that neither the country nor its resources suffered from the military operations he conducted, and that no irrigation and no reproductive work received injury! The Indian province

of the Persian Empire had contributed by far the largest part of the revenues the great King had enjoyed, and Alexander the Great's carefully planned descent on India was therefore not the mere armed exploration trip which it is so frequently represented to be, but was a carefully thought out campaign, which was, if successful, to give him those revenues which were so necessary to the accomplishment of his world-embracing designs. The development of trade, from which source it was that in those ages so large a proportion of a State's revenue was drawn, received Alexander's most careful consideration. In the first of the four phases into which his campaign in Asia falls there stand out the destruction of Tyre and the founding of what was to be the capital of Egypt and her great seaport, Alexandria. Tyre had proffered a gold crown in token of dignified submission, but this was curtly rejected, and, after the most desperate fighting, which extended over months, in which Alexander suffered losses he could ill afford, Tyre fell and was utterly destroyed. Tyre was the great commercial rival of Greece in the Mediterranean, and it was therefore decreed that she must pass. In the second phase, Alexander grasps firmly the command of the great Ægean Sea-Persian Gulf trade route. In the third, we see him gain possession of the great eastern route, found yet another Alexandria (Herat) on the site that his master mind showed him with lightning rapidity was the strategic and economic key of India, and later on comes the garrisoning with Greek troops, whom it is clear he had political reasons for keeping far from their homes, that flank of the further trade route from which the genius of his keen military intellect warned him danger would always threaten. The introduction of the third phase, the conquest of the Indus province, was the elimination, with meticulous precision and patience, of all hostile Indian border elements which were likely to interfere, in the future, with free access by the great eastern trade route to India. And the fourth and last phase, which was to terminate so early and so sadly, and which followed the conquest and permanent garrisoning of the Indus province, is perhaps the most important and significant from the point we have in review, for it embraces the exploration of the Indus River throughout its length, with yet again the elimination of such tribal elements as were calculated, if left untouched, to prejudice those commercial schemes which were already assuming definite shape in the young conqueror's mind; the careful personal examination of the mouths of the Indus, which in those days discharged into the Ran of Kach, and which entailed Alexander's separation from his army, at considerable personal inconvenience and also, as it proved, some little danger; and, lastly, the return by land and sea by way of the coast of Mekran, or Gedrosia as it was then termed, a most difficult and dangerous undertaking, yet selected, not really for any bombastic reason, but with a deliberate and definite intent, despite the heavy price

Alexander knew only too well he would be called on to pay. And then comes the closing scene at Babylon, with the conqueror's death when immersed in plans and estimates for titanic harbour and other works which were to permanently secure his conquests, his explorations, his labours, and his plans, and which indicate with brilliant clarity what was the decision his master mind had finally arrived at, and the lines he had convinced himself would have to be followed to secure the free and unimpeded passage of trade between the Eastern and Western worlds, and—although here the reasoning is deductive—the certainty with which his genius had warned him that the great eastern trade route would in time be overborne by the tide of barbarism which then threatened it; that the Red Sea route, with its difficult and dangerous sea passage, although it could be made great and valuable, could never fulfil the requirements of a trade route such as he had in view; and that on the holding and development of the Mediterranean-Euphrates-Persian Gulf route to the Old World was pivoted the realization of his schemes, the well-being of the Empire of which he was the framer and builder, and the security of civilization and, with it, of mankind.

We now come down to the last forty years. To deal with India's later economic history lies quite without the scope of this lecture. It will suffice to say that under British rule, and assured, for the first time for centuries, of a stable administration, and in the enjoyment of profound peace, India developed rapidly. Railways, fed by branch roads, were introduced and multiplied; irrigation and agriculture were encouraged and extended; telegraphs spread all over the country; lines of coasting steamers were established; and factories arose which needed to be fed with raw materials, and for which, as well as for English trade, new markets had to be sought out and developed.

The most promising markets adjoining India were those of Chinese Turkestan, Central Asia, and Persia. We will pass by the first, although I would note that there is much I shall have to say relating to Russian trade with Persian Khorassan which will be found to apply with equal force in regard to that of Chinese Turkestan. As regards the other two, these countries can only be approached from India from two directions—viz., from the Punjab, through Afghanistan, or through some port either on the Persian Gulf or on the east coast of the Black Sea, like Trebizond.

We will first turn to Afghanistan. Afghanistan lies on the North-West Frontier of India, and is an independent sovereignty under British protection. India allows her a considerable annual subsidy, and in return her foreign relations are subject to British guidance; but, while so, she has absolute freedom, within her own borders, to adopt any system of government and any interior policy which may commend itself to her. The late Amir, Abdur Rahman, was perhaps one of the



most gifted men of the last hundred years, for he united in his own person the qualities of a brilliant general, the talents of a remarkably able administrator, and the acumen, foresight, and intuition of a great statesman. The political relations which existed between the late Amir and the Government of India were always cordial, despite the somewhat malicious pin-pricks he was wont to occasionally indulge in, and it is very much to be hoped that these friendly relations will long remain. Afghanistan, a wild, arid, desolate country, is inhabited by numerous tribes of diverse racial descent, who are divided up into sections and subsections. Most of these tribes, and not a few of their subsections, are at feud with one another, for the Afghan adores bloodshed, and is never really content unless he has two or three blood feuds to occupy his leisure hours. Quarrelsome and untrustworthy although he is, yet he possesses the supreme redeeming virtue of patriotism, and should any foreign enemy ever cross into his country the whole nation will drop their feuds and quarrels and will fight to the finish. The policy which commended itself to the late Amir was one of rigid isolation and exclusion, and this policy has been strictly adhered to by his successor. Entry into Afghanistan, a country which possesses no real roads and no telegraphs, is thus barred. The trade which entered Afghanistan from India prior to the war was largely confined to a trade in such articles as were needed for her domestic consumption. The year 1917-18, it is true, saw a truly remarkable increase in trade entering Afghanistan from the North-West Frontier Provinces through the six Indian passes, and this increase can only be accounted for by a great Central Asian demand having arisen in consequence of the disorganization of Russian trade.

While the Amir looked to his Customs department to supply him with a large proportion of the revenue he required to carry on the administration of his country, yet his fiscal policy was not calculated either to encourage trade with India or to develop trade passing through Afghanistan to foreign markets. The dues he imposed were heavy and trade was subject to exactions, such as the transit dues, which were levied on most, if not all, the main roads leading through Afghanistan. What this means can perhaps best be understood by an example I will give. A load of wool despatched from Herat to India, via Kandahar, would first be mulcted in various Herat dues; on the road between Herat and Kandahar it would be called on to pay certain transit dues; on arrival at Kandahar customs at Rs. 40 per camel, and between Kandahar and the frontier no less than seven dues would be recovered—i.e., caravan head-man's due of Rs. 3/5/4; "Delali" Rs. 10/8/4; "Goshi" Rs. 1/10/8; "Aishan" due Rs. 19/4; "Takhtapul" due annas 12—Takhtapul is a well-known place on the road; annas 2/8 "Sardari" due collected at Baldock, the Afghan frontier fort; and, lastly, Rs. 8 for what is termed the "one-tenth" tax. The charge on a donkey

load of fruit despatched to British territory by a Kandahar garden owner works out, under the several headings, at no less than Rs. 4/2/6. Wherever it can do so, trade avoids Afghanistan; indeed, such Herat wool as found its way to India favoured the long roundabout route through Persia and Nushki. I am, of course, referring to the time before the railway was prolonged from Nushki to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier.

We will next glance at the position beyond Afghanistan, in Central Asia.

Towards the end of the year 1885, Russia turned her eyes towards the Turkestan Khanates, and these, in course of time, she absorbed. There was a railway at this time connecting Batoum, on the Black Sea, with Baku, on the Caspian, and she now built a railway from Krasnovodsk, a port on the east coast of the Caspian, to Askabad, and this place was not long afterwards connected, through Kuchan, by cart road to Meshed, the capital of Khorassan. From Askabad the railway was then extended to Taskend through Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand. Not many years subsequent to the completion of this railway, Russia took steps to secure to herself the entire trade of Central Asia. This she arranged by the introduction of carefully prepared tariffs which had the end in view of driving all Indian competing trade out of Central Asia, and with such skill were these framed that the end she sought was quickly attained, and our Central Asian trade came, to all intents, to a standstill. It will be convenient to deal with this subject later on, so I will merely refer to the difficult position in which England, with her Free Trade, is placed when faced by an avowedly antagonistic fiscal policy of this type. With other European Powers, the practice in such a case would have been to protest, and, should this protest have been disregarded, to have imposed counter-vailing duties so framed as to cover the loss incurred. It is a matter of considerable present doubt whether Russia, suffering as she is from septic dissolution and fermenting with the bitter wine of liberty, will be able, in view of the whole or partial destruction of her factories and their machinery; the loss of so much of her limited skilled labour; the exhaustion of her resources; the disruption of her banking system, with all its delicate trade ramifications and organizations; and heavily burdened, as she will remain, with debt, will be able to rehabilitate herself; but if she ever succeeds in doing so, and in repairing the destruction caused by the present orgy of anarchy, then this will only be possible by her reaccepting in full those pecuniary obligations which she has repudiated, and by having recourse to large foreign loans. Should Russia ever come to us for loans, without which her trade organization cannot hope to be re-established, then it would seem that we would be justified in first laying down the condition that the money she asks for shall not be

utilized in reinaugurating a frankly hostile economic campaign, and that the artificial and abnormal conditions she imposed in the case of Central Asian and Persian trade shall in future be discontinued.

South of her new province, Russia found herself faced by a country, Afghanistan, whose integrity was guaranteed by the British Government, and whose frontiers were jealously guarded by an Amir who held the most determined views that free commercial intercourse with Russia would carry with it results which would spell the downfall of his sovereignty and the destruction of his country's independence. Between Central Asia and India Afghanistan accordingly lay like a vast wall, through which trade from India could not pass to either Central Asia or Persia, nor could trade from Central Asia and Persia find passage to India. A certain amount of Russian trade, as well as Indian, naturally found its way into Afghanistan, but, as we know, it never penetrated any great distance beyond. Russian trade was subject in Afghanistan to precisely the same disabilities as our Indian trade, and the goods which Russia had to export were, in addition, poor and tawdry. The Peshawar and North Indian bazaars contain a variety of such petty articles as brass samovars, brass tea-trays, glasses for drinking tea, cheap crockery, cheap looking-glasses, but this is about all.

The only other routes by which it was possible for Indian trade to reach Khorassan—and I would note here that the trade of Northern Persia is by far the most valuable that Persia possesses, due to the facts that the rainfall is greater, the country is richer and better developed, and more than half the population of Persia resides in the north—were those leading from the several Persian Gulf ports, or from Trebizond, on the Black Sea. In each case, however, the distance concerned was great and involved a long overland journey.

1. From Trebizond, on the Black Sea, via Tabriz, to Teheran and Meshed was some 1,400 to 1,500 miles.

2. From Baghdad, on the River Tigris, via Hamadan and Teheran, to Meshed was 1,070 miles, and the distances from the two Gulf ports to Meshed by the several routes in common use stood as follows:

3. Bushire to Meshed, via Yezd, Turbat-i-Haidari, 932 miles.

4. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Yezd and Tabas, 1,020 miles.

5. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Kirman, Naiband, and Tun, 970 miles.

6. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Narmashir, Neh, and Turbat, 900 miles.

It may be noted incidentally that although the latter route was the shortest, it was generally unsafe. The objections in case of all these routes were identical. These were the heavy expense which a long overland journey by pack animals involved; the period goods took in transit; the frequent change in carriers; the delays due to an inefficient Customs

department, to the impossibility of extending active and consistent assistance to caravans when in transit on a journey which sometimes extended over months; and, lastly, to the difficulty, and in most cases the impossibility, of handling by pack-animals bulky goods such as Persia mainly produced, except when grown in close proximity to the port of exit. After full and careful consideration of the whole question in all its bearings, it was decided that these difficulties could only be surmounted and our trade interests conserved by opening direct overland communication between India and Persia. It was obvious, in the circumstances which have been described, that no route through Afghanistan could be considered. To outflank Afghanistan on the northern side was out of the question. The only alternative, therefore, that remained was the southern approach. We possessed direct communication between the port of Karachi and Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, by a railway which had the further advantage of being linked up with the Punjab and Indian railway systems. Such difficulties as remained, therefore, related to the section of territory which intervened between Quetta and the Baluchistan-Sistan frontier; but here lay a Baluch country of indeterminate ownership, and the problems which it presented were as varied as they were difficult of solution. Sandwiched in between the Sarlat hills on the Quetta side, Afghanistan on the northern, Kharan on the southern, and the rocky wall of the Sarhad range on the western, this country was largely desert, with a strip of fifty miles of absolute desert on its western face, and was inhabited, for the most part, and surrounded, by wandering tribes of predatory Baluch, most of whom were at feud with one another and whose chief occupation was raiding. This country had never been surveyed and was little known. The western side had been visited by Colonel Charles McGregor\* in the seventies, who has left, in his book entitled "Wanderings in Baluchistan," a record of his experiences and personal sufferings. On the east side it had been crossed transversely by Mr. H. Barnes, C.S.,† in the year 1884, to whom Government had consigned the responsible duty of piloting the Afghan Commission across the sandy desert which intervenes between Nushki and the Helmand valley; and the northern border had been examined and surveyed by Captain McMahon‡ when engaged demarcating the boundary-line between British Baluchistan and Afghanistan, and who had found it unwise to move except under the protection of a strong infantry escort. This territory was claimed by Amir Abdur Rahman, who, alarmed by our railway activity in Baluchistan, had, following the close of his operations against the Helmand valley Baluch, marched an Afghan force south and seized the chief fort, which he garrisoned. Against this violation of Baluchistan rights the Government of India had vigorously

\* Afterwards Sir Charles McGregor, K.C.B.

† Now Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

‡ Now Sir Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

protested, but it was not until 1896, the year in which the boundary between British Baluchistan and Afghanistan was delimited, that he was compelled to withdraw his forces north. In the year 1897 it fell to me to take charge of the country which was now embodied in British Baluchistan under the Boundary agreement, and my instructions from Mr. Barnes, the then head of the Local Government, contained orders to establish overland trade communication with Persia, an enterprise which thus became feasible for the first time.

I need not go into the long story of how the trade route was opened to caravan traffic. The problem proved most complex. In addition to difficulties incidental to a country largely arid and which produced little in the way of supplies, we proved far from welcome arrivals to the Baluch tribesmen themselves, who saw in our advent the beginning of a restraint which was opposed both to their racial instincts as well as to their predatory proclivities.

These Baluch form part of a nation which presents one of the most interesting studies to the ethnologist which is to be found on the Indian frontier. As the result of researches extending back a long series of years, I can say that the Baluch are a Semitic race, and originally inhabited a river valley east of Aleppo. Their language is an Aramaic dialect, and, at a period which dates back many centuries, they moved south-east into Lower Mesopotamia, and later on to the head of the Persian Gulf. There are reasons for believing that the movement was due to pressure, and was not voluntary, but the nature of this pressure is obscure. In the later Sassanian period, when religious persecution was rife, these Baluch, who, in common with so many other dwellers in the Tigris and Euphrates basin, were Nature-worshippers—I have found on the Baluchistan-Persian border many unmistakable traces of this worship; in fact, the worship still survives engrafted on many local Mahomedan practices—moved to the north coast of the Persian Gulf, which they later on followed down to what is now Persian Baluchistan, the inhabitants of which they dispossessed. This migration from north-west to south-east is exceedingly interesting, for it is the only case of a tribal migration in this direction, on a large scale, with which I am acquainted. Among the naked arid hills of Persian Baluchistan the Baluch resided for several centuries, increasing steadily in numbers, and this country still continues theirs by right of possession. Still growing in numbers, they began overflowing their boundaries, and, again taking up the same line of migration, which appears to be one of the immutable laws of migrating nations, they passed up the Sarhad range to the confines of Sistan. The ruined line of fortified guard-posts which mark the Shelag River approach on the southern boundary of Sistan shows how strenuously their intrusion was resented. Robat, at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siah, now one of our frontier posts, was, as its name "outpost" implies, but one of these old guard-stations. Checked on

the north, the Baluch flowed on and submerged Mekran, Panjgur, Kharan, what is now Kalat Baluchistan, Chagai, Nushki, and they found their way as far as the plains of Kachi and even beyond. Kalat became the headquarters of a Baluch confederacy which comprised the immediate surrounding hill tribes. A considerable period seems now to have elapsed, but in the earlier Moghul period the head of the Kalat Baluch confederacy—for over the Baluch, as with their Semitic confrères the Arabs, whom the Baluch so closely resemble, no King has ever reigned—was granted a valuable strip of territory in the Dera Ghazi Khan district in recognition of the valuable military services he had rendered to the Delhi throne. Attracted by the richness of this grant, the manhood of the Kalat Baluch confederacy moved, with their flocks and families, down to the Dera Ghazi Khan district, leaving behind them a vacuum which was filled by the Brahui, the Indo-Dravidian indigenous tribe whom the Baluch had originally dispossessed. The Brahuīs are not great warriors, but the lands round Kalat were poor and arid, while those at Dera Ghazi Khan were rich and well watered. Composed as the Baluch are of so many loosely co-ordinated sections, it was apparently the business of no particular tribe or section to restore Baluch authority in the Kalat hills, and no serious attempt would ever seem to have been made to do so. It was this which militated against the further development of the nation, for Kalat commands the exit of the Bolan Pass, and the mastery of the Bolan, in other than Baluch hands, carries with it the severance of the eastern from the western Baluch. It is to this fact, indeed, that must be ascribed the somewhat surprising position we find in British “Baluchistan”—the name itself is indicative of the erstwhile Baluch supremacy—where a numerically inferior and weak Brahui population, regarded by the Baluch, to whom they will not give their daughters in marriage, with contempt, holds the political ascendancy, although surrounded by and embedded in an immense Baluch population. In time the Baluch, swarming north, west, and east, penetrated into Sistan and Birjand, and made their way up the Helmand to a point where their advance was finally arrested by the Nurzai Afghans. From Dera Ghazi Khan the Baluch sent off detachments, still in the same migratory line, to Dera Ismail Khan, the Salt range, Bahawalpur, etc.; but, being no longer fed by fresh streams of Baluch vitality from the west, owing to the interruption of their lines of communication, the movement into India slowly came to an end. Had this not been the case, it is probable that the history of the Panjab and Sind would have had to be rewritten. It will be of interest to say that an eminent art specialist to whom various specimens of Baluch work were submitted for examination declared that they represented the only pure instances of Assyrian work which had ever come under his notice in India.

It had been supposed that the northern frontier of our new British



district was closed by impassable deserts where it bordered on Afghanistan, but this, it was now found, was far from being the case. Several routes traversed this region, but the country was so wild and difficult of access as to supply permanent, and almost impregnable, refuges for any wandering band of marauders, facilities which these did not hesitate to avail themselves of to the full. It was not long before Amir Abdur Rahman indicated his general attitude towards the trade route. Orders were issued forbidding the sale of wheat to our district Baluch, and as these Baluch had been accustomed for generations to purchase their grain in the valley of the Helmand, these orders added in no small degree to our difficulties.

To the south of the new district, through which the overland route must pass, was the Baluch State of Kharan, whose Chief, the late Sir Nauroz Khan, possessed important transfrontier Persian connections and interests, and was uneasy as to what our presence on his borders would entail. This Chief nourished an undying racial antagonism to the Brahui Khan of Kalat, an antagonism which had, in the past, driven him into the arms of Afghanistan, and had seen him fighting against us in the last Afghan War, despite the dislike which has always existed between Baluch and Afghan. In the occupation of the territory lying between his State and Afghanistan the Kharan Chief was fearful he saw an unfavourable turn to his long struggle for independence from Brahui Kalat domination. In these circumstances it was not perhaps surprising that he set himself to oppose, more passively, perhaps, than actively, but none the less effectually, the consolidation of an influence which was so essential for the furtherance of the intentions Government had in view.

Lastly, away to the west, beyond a fifty mile stretch of waterless desert, was Sarhad and the Sarhad mountains. Sarhad or "Yagistan, the country of outlaws," is populated for the most part by Damani, a wild Baluch tribe closely related to the Marri Baluch of British Baluchistan. These reside on the slopes of the range, and Sarhad itself has always borne the worst of reputations. Here anyone who had committed a more than ordinary repulsive crime was always certain of a refuge and a warm greeting. Their unenviable reputation is recognized even by the Sarhaddis themselves, for once when in Sarhad I enquired of a holy Syed who possessed a local reputation for wisdom and piety why it was that the Sarhaddis were in such bad repute. He pointed to the column of sulphurous vapour which could be seen from where we sat rising above the crater of the dying Koh-i-Daftan volcano, and answered: "Do you see that mountain? There is a road leading direct from the centre of that mountain down to the nether regions. The smoke you see comes from hell fire. Is it surprising that the persons who live round that mountain and breathe in its emanations are not distinguished by godliness?" The logic of

his answer was unanswerable. I also remember asking the same hoary-headed ruffian if it was true that one or two families I had happened to come across on the Koh-i-Daftan Mountain were not Mahomedan by religion, and on his saying that they were not, I enquired, somewhat mischievously I fear, why it was that so eminent a divine as he evidently was had not converted these families to the true religion. His answer, with uplifted eyes, a look of resignation, and a weary sigh, was that all the time and labour he had spent in slitting their noses and ears, with this very end in view, had been quite thrown away. This mountain has many remains that indicate that at one time it was regarded—no doubt this was in Zoroastrian days—as a place of pilgrimage.

It was evident that the only method of successfully administering a country of this type, surroundings, and some 30,000 miles in area—later on, when Kharan was added to the charge, the area approximated to some 42,000 square miles—was by gaining the personal support and sympathy of these wild people. Had force been available, and naturally it was not, its use in dealing with such an elusive people, inhabiting such an immense territory, and with refuges on every side where they could not be followed, was quite out of the question. The story is a long one, and extends over nearly twenty years of strenuous labour. It is a tale of endless trouble, much work which had to be done and redone, and done again, many disappointments, many delightful joys, and ultimate success. Reserved and suspicious although the Baluch were, we finally won their confidence, and many are the instances of kindly thought and chivalrous feeling I recall with pleasure. What the settlement of this country meant I think will be understood when I say that crimes of violence became exceptional; cultivation, rude and primitive although it was, increased to a remarkable extent; all tribal forts were abandoned without a single exception and fell into ruin; the carrying of arms absolutely ceased; the revenue increased tenfold; every blood feud—very many were found to date back generations—was enquired into, examined, and settled; and peace and tranquillity reigned throughout a country in which peace had never previously been known.

The suspicions of the Kharan Chief were allayed, but his confidence and that of his Nausherwani following was never really won. A somewhat sullen acquiescence in a presence which was clearly repugnant was as far as we could progress. The position in this State and on the intervening border was never quite satisfactory, and culminated, in 1911, in the murder of the then Chief and disturbances which, threatening to involve Western Kalat, Persian Baluchistan, and the Helmand Baluch, compelled the Indian Government to depute me, with a military force and some guns, under the command of Colonel C. Jacob,\* to deal

\* Now Lieut.-General Sir Claude Jacob, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., etc.

with a position the end of which could not be foreseen, and this was done so effectually that, from this side, there has never been any further trouble of either an active or passive nature.

On the northern side the relations which were gradually built up, as years passed, with the transfrontier Baluch and Afghan tribesmen lacked nothing in either cordiality or friendship. Suspicious at first, they yielded their confidence in the end, and throughout a period of little less than twenty years the relations which were established with these tribesmen remained unimpaired, and were distinguished by many spontaneous acts of good feeling, and were indeed far more friendly than anywhere else on the Indo-Afghan border.

But perhaps the most remarkable change of all took place in the west—that is to say, beyond the waterless belt, on the Sarhad border. Persian authority had always hung loose over their outlying Baluch tribes, but a few years subsequent to the opening of the trade route to caravan traffic Persian Baluchistan revolted; the Persian Deputy-Governor fled from Bampur; his forces disbanded themselves and scattered all over the country; and the Sarhad Baluch started raiding on an immense scale, their forays, as time went on, extending hundreds of miles and eventually reaching as far as, and even beyond, Kirman and Birjand. Despite this, our trade route, which lay within less than a single day's easy march of their tribal headquarters, was never touched, until the spasm of unrest which followed the opening of the war passed over the country in 1915.

The Baluch is a peculiar individual, but quickly reacts to kindness, always provided that this is guided by a tact and experience which is founded on an intimate knowledge of his tribal customs and somewhat remarkable personality and mentality. In the absence of this knowledge, the results which may follow well-intentioned acts are frequently the reverse of what is anticipated. To give a somewhat typical instance of the working of the Baluch mind: Shortly before quitting the frontier, the speaker happened to express to a Baluch some surprise that he had seen a tribesman who was a member of a tribe living without the district, with whom there was a blood feud, walking about quite openly. The answer given was that, as a matter of fact, the tribal elders concerned had only, a few days before, held a consultation on the subject, at which it had been decided that the intruder was to be disposed of, but, while so, it had also been decided that the matter was to be postponed a few months. Curiosity being aroused, steps were taken to ascertain the explanation, and it was found that, with the amiability of their race, it had been decided not to give the District Officer any unnecessary trouble just then. It need scarcely be said that the exercise of this kindly intention was rendered unnecessary.

The trade route which was opened ran from Nushki, at the foot of the Sarlat Hills, along the northern glacis of the Khara Range to

a place called Dalbandin. Here it struck north-west until it reached the southern slope of the Koh-i-Sultan, an isolated and extremely rugged range of wind-cut peaks which will be found on the map springing from the plain immediately west of the Chagai Hills. Following a direction south, but parallel to this range, the trade route struck boldly west to Robat, at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siah Mountain, on whose summit stands the pillar which marks the point where the three frontiers of Persia, Afghanistan, and British Baluchistan meet. This route, some 469 miles in length from Quetta and some 367 miles from Nushki, was selected as being that most suited to the requirements of caravan trade, and it outflanked the great desert. A somewhat general belief exists that a camel is an animal which can negotiate long marches without much difficulty, requires very little water, and although not a hill-climber, yet cares little for moderately hilly country. On the contrary, the ideal camel track should have stages not more than thirteen to fifteen miles apart, be provided with a good supply of water at each halting-place—to the camel the quantity more than the quality is more important—and be as level as possible. A camel will never step over an obstacle, be it only an inch or so in height, but will always go round. The desiderata of a good caravan track are therefore those given, added to which there must be good grazing, with plenty of wood for the drivers. Given these conditions, and a country where the rainfall is scanty, and a camel will go anywhere. In mud a camel is useless, and whereas the Bactrian camel can stand extreme cold, our Afghan and Baluch camels, accustomed as they are to hot climates, succumb unless they start on their journey, if it is a lengthy one, in good condition and receive a regular daily allowance of crushed wheat.

Apart from such difficulties as were attendant on the control of a population and of the surroundings of such a country as I have described, the purely trade-route problems with which we were faced resolved themselves into four.

There was, firstly, the difficulty of providing shelter and accommodation along a road which extended to such a distance. This, however, was overcome, and in the course of a few years every stage other than one lying in the centre of the waterless belt was provided with a series of wells, caravanserais, guest-houses, and travellers' bungalows, with storehouses, post and telegraph offices, and guard-posts, at suitable intervals apart. The actual number of these, all built by tribal labour and most by the Baluch levies themselves or under Baluch supervision, was: Large guard-posts, several of which in size partook of the nature of strong forts, 11; ordinary trade-route guard-posts, 11; storehouses, 10; travellers' bungalows, furnished, 21; serais and mehmankhanas, 19 of each; telegraph offices, 6; hospital dispensaries, 4; with a sufficiency of wells at each stage to meet the requirements of caravan

trade. In addition a broad track, cleared of stones and ramped where necessary, was carried right through the 370 odd miles to the frontier.

The next problem had relation to the supply of food. This gave rise to ceaseless anxiety. The grain produced in the country did not suffice for the requirements of its inhabitants, and the demands which were made on the trade-route resources during the height of the caravan season were frequently extremely heavy. The system eventually adopted was to build roomy storehouses and lay in supplies during the summer months, when the flow of traffic had moderated.

The next difficulty concerned the somewhat severe climatic conditions to which this country is subject. In summer the heat and in winter the cold are equally intense. Inward-bound caravans, on reaching Nushki, found that there lay before them an ascent to Quetta of some 3,000 feet, and that in the depth of winter the country they now entered was frequently under snow, devoid of grazing, and was without inhabitants, as they had moved with their flocks and herds down to the plains below. So many camels, weakened by a long inward journey, succumbed on the last section that it was realized that unless some very radical improvement was made here the caravan route could never prove a success. The delay between the arrival and departure of caravans frequently extended to a fortnight or more, and so, being unable to keep their animals at Quetta for so long a time in winter, carriers found it necessary to send them down to graze on the Kachi Plains, which added another 200 miles of inward and outward journey. This difficulty was overcome in 1905 by extending the railway to the foot of the hills at Nushki, a measure that did more than anything else to popularize the route. With the railhead at Nushki, the distance to Meshed was thus reduced to some 1,010 miles.

Before leaving the subject of climate, I would like to allude to a somewhat remarkable phenomenon which is found in the district through which the trade route passes. It is what I will call, for want of a better term, a "wind-stream," which blows almost daily, throughout the summer months, from north to south down the waterless belt. The origin or—if I may employ the word—the source of this wind has been traced to the north of Herat, to the oasis which lies beyond the Paropomismus Range, between the Murghab and Hari Rud Rivers—a region that for a long period in history was known as the "Badkhyz," or place where the wind gets up. From Herat this wind blows, in an almost direct line, south to Lash Juwain, where it is said to attain its maximum velocity. From here it continues to Sistan, and, following the Helmand up its course, it rounds the corner of the bend at Bund-i-Kamal Khan, continues for a distance of some forty miles, and then, again turning south, proceeds on its way until it eventually blows itself out in the vicinity of the Arabian Sea. In summer, the average breadth of the stream is from fifty to eighty miles, but it is sometimes

less, for it fluctuates considerably. In winter it blows intermittently and, to a great extent, loses its stream characteristics. Its influence as an agent of denudation is apparent everywhere in the centre of its path, for it has scooped out troughs in places some 20 to 30 feet deep, a 100 and more yards wide, and a mile or so in length; has chiselled out the valley of the Helmand until the river has been left running along a raised channel, like an aqueduct—no doubt this is to be ascribed to ground saturation offering a greater resistance to wind action—and has cut the Koh-i-Sultan mountain range into shapes so fantastic as to be quite beyond description, polishing, with wind-blown sand, one of its western buttresses, which is composed of obsidian, until it shines like glass, and piling sand in masses up against the northern side of the range until it has reached not far short of the very summit.

The last problem, and a most important one too, related to the onward despatch of goods from railhead, and this proved both difficult and complex. In summer the demand for carriage could generally be met, but in winter, when trade was at its height, there was frequently a shortage of animals, and rates fluctuated greatly in sympathy. As years passed, the question became an insistent one, and eventually a camel contract was entered into, under which goods arriving at railhead were transported to the Sistan border for Rs. 23 per camel, the number of days taken in transit being limited, with halts, to twenty-eight. With the introduction of this contract all rate fluctuations terminated, for when private hirers found they were unable to arrange their own carriage they had recourse to the Government agents. The contract worked with remarkable precision until the year 1915, when it is stated that a shortage of camels took place and the contractors were unable to carry out their agreement. From the Sistan border another contract, under the supervision of the Consul Sistan, worked in unison.

Following the termination of the contract a large accumulation of goods took place at railhead, and this, combined with the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the outlook in Persia, due to Turkish aggression, led to the momentous decision to extend the line to Dalbandin, a distance of 113 miles. The work was carried out, with remarkable celerity. Crossing as this extension did, an open plain, the construction presented no engineering difficulty. At a later date, and for reasons which closely corresponded, although in this case they related more to the position in Central Asia brought about by the Russian collapse, it was decided that the line had best be continued to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier, and this has now been done. In place, therefore, of a tract of difficult country, from the point of view of transport, we now have a broad-gauge railway-line running from the port of Karachi, on the west coast of India, direct to the Persian border,



which is linked up with the Punjab and our Indian railway systems.

With that consideration which has always distinguished the Government of India when dealing with questions of trade, certain very important railway concessions were granted, a few years ago, to all trade which passed by rail to Nushki. These concessions are:

*First*, a rebate is allowed of two-thirds the actual freight charges by the North-Western Railway on all goods, including live-stock, proceeding to and from Persia and Afghanistan, provided the maximum freight exceeded the sum of Rs. 5.

*Second*, a rebate of one-third freight is granted on all goods proceeding to the same destinations over the East Indian and Oude and Rohilkand Railways.

*Third*, a Customs drawback of seven-eighths on all goods imported from England, via either Bombay or Karachi, and re-exported, under Customs seal, without breaking bulk.

*Fourth*, the grant of free railway passes to Persian and Afghan traders visiting India on business over the North-Western and East Indian Railways.

With railhead on the Baluchistan-Persian frontier, the distances to the three important trade-distributing centres now stands as follows:

1. To Sistan about 100 miles.
2. To Meshed, via Sistan, about 630 miles, but there is a direct route running from Robat to Neh and thence to Birjand which reduces the distance to about 540 miles, and has the advantage of avoiding Sistan and its troublesome inundated area.
3. To Herat, a distance proportionate to No. 2.

The Nushki route, in addition to having the advantage of the up-to-date facilities for dealing with cargo provided by the port of Karachi, and the exceedingly valuable railway concessions just enumerated, now becomes the shortest route we have by about 360 miles. Against this, trade passing through Gulf ports is sea-borne, but this fact is to a certain extent discounted by the disembarkation difficulties attendant on steamers having to lie off the shore, and by the fact that it is not uncommon for the first hundred miles or so of the road up-country from the coast to be interrupted. The latter disadvantage will scarcely lie in the case of the new railhead, for once clear of the Sarhad border, which it will now be our business to see adequately policed by the Persian Government, all danger is left behind.

It would now be well if we were to consider what steps can advantageously be taken to develop to its very fullest capacity the great material advantages which the new terminus supplies to our trade.

Apart from the opening up of a country, on our side of the frontier, where salt in vast quantities is to be obtained, and where lead, copper, antimony, iron, ochre, and sulphur, have been found, as well as out-

crops of marble and jasper, it would seem that the linking up of the frontier terminus by roads suited for wheeled traffic connecting rail-head with Sistan and Birjand is a measure which easily comes first in importance. The distance from Askabad, on the Transcaspian Railway, to Meshed is 177 miles; without, therefore, the stimulus which the Russian pre-war system of bounties supplied, we may take it—the conditions on either side being equal, an hypothesis which is scarcely reliable, for very real advantages now lie with us—that the meeting-point of corresponding Russian and British economic pressure would lie somewhere in the vicinity of Birjand. I am making the somewhat bold assumption that Russia will be able to rehabilitate herself and revert to pre-war conditions. East of the great desert barrier to which I have referred more than once in this lecture there are clearly two points of equal strategic and economic importance—Herat and Sistan. Draw a line connecting these two places and balance this line on Birjand, and the Power which has the ability to tip it from here one way or another is the Power which holds the dominant position. Between Robat, on our border, and Birjand there is an admirable alignment for a cart road, and, as the gradient is gentle throughout, the cost of a road such as we require would be approximately small.

The Sistan road-connection should be equipped with brick or stone bridges, so that the Shelag Nullah overflow and the several deep irrigation cuts which have to be forded on entering inhabited Sistan may no longer prove the impediment to trade which they have hitherto been. It is quite an ordinary occurrence for trade passing between Nasratabad and Robat to be held up for days by floods. The country intervening is dead-level clay plain, so the cost of a road, apart from the bridging, should be trifling. With the thousands of vehicles of all kinds, including motor-lorries, which the termination of the war has now thrown on the market, it would be well worth considering whether some of these could not be utilized for such an admirable purpose as this. Nothing is more certain than that we shall find it necessary to establish wheeled transport on this line in the very early future, and this being so, wisdom requires that we should face this fact and take such steps as are necessary with this end in view. A light railway or tram line would, of course, be still better. This road would follow the telegraph-line by which Robat is connected, on the one side, with the Indian telegraph system, and on the other with Meshed, through Sistan and Birjand.

With the railway terminus on this border and east of the desert barrier, Sistan must now assume its proper place as the great distributing centre of South-West Afghanistan; but while this result will assuredly follow, we must not forget the great potentialities which Sistan herself possesses for purely agricultural development. The River Helmand, the largest river in Afghanistan, discharges, at Sistan, on to an open

plain. Its water is richly charged with silt; there are immense stretches of land fit for cultivation lying to hand, provided a market can be obtained for the grain they could and are ready to produce; the country lends itself to irrigation; and labour is both cheap and abundant. The Persian Government do not permit the export of cereals, but it is to be hoped that this attitude will be modified if they are tactfully approached. They would have every reason for reconsidering their decision, for if their orders were rescinded they would be able to dispose of their revenue grain at highly remunerative prices; the resulting increased cultivation would be accompanied by a proportionate rise in their land revenue, and the extension of cultivation would in itself prove a valuable insurance against those years of scarcity from which neither Sistan nor the surrounding country are exempt. Several years back we conducted a very valuable import trade with Sistan in "ghi," or clarified butter. On the initiative of our great trade rivals in Persia, an embargo was placed on the export of this article from Sistan, and a few years subsequently our Consul reported that Sistan was then scarcely producing sufficient ghi for her own requirements. Our trade with Persia is largely an export trade, and it therefore follows that anything that can be done to assist, no matter in how small a degree, in equalizing the balance should receive our most careful consideration. As I shall have to refer later on to this matter, I will merely say here that there is no question relating to our trade with Persia which assumes a higher importance than this.

The caravan route terminated on the Baluchistan-Sistan frontier at Robat. This place, perhaps the most important of the old guard-posts which protected the southern approach to Sistan, and where there are extensive remains of copper workings, is situated at the immediate foot of the Sarhad rock-wall, which makes, at this place, a somewhat sharp turn west. Onward from Robat outgoing caravans had two roads which they could select—viz., that via Nasratabad, the headquarters of the Persian administration of Sistan, distant about 100 miles, and that which runs direct to Birjand, through Neh, and thus avoids the detour through Sistan with its inundated areas and troublesome and intricate irrigation system. From the point of view of ancient trade communications, the country in the vicinity of Robat presented an interesting problem I was anxious to solve, and which can be explained in a few words. Excluding the somewhat unimportant track which leads to Mekran from Sistan, and runs parallel to the eastern glaxis of the Sarhad Hills, I knew there was no other which came from Sistan and traversed British territory. I knew that Sistan, with its highly developed system of irrigation canals, had once formed the headquarters of a Governorship which had embraced within its limits the larger portion of what is modern Afghanistan, and Baluchistan as far down as the Kachi Plains. I knew that a succession of great armies had

marched from Sistan to Kirman, and *vice versa*. It is scarcely necessary to recall to mind that this was the route selected by Alexander the Great as being the easiest for the return of his sick, time-expired veterans, and the women whom he despatched under Krateros to await his arrival at Carmania or Kirman. Incidentally it may be observed that while Krateros is generally supposed to have taken the Bolan route, yet it is worth while remembering that the more direct Siwi-Sanjawi-Khojak route was well known at this time and was in common use. I further knew that Antiochus the Great had marched with his whole army direct from Sistan to Kirman, at the close of what was afterwards to prove his unsuccessful Indian campaign. It thus seemed open to no reasonable doubt that Sistan must have been connected with its neighbouring sister-province of Kirman by one of those great direct posting roads which formed such prominent features both in the time of the Persian Empire and of those empires which succeeded it. Further, I knew that, following the abandonment of the Black Sea Caspian route to India, through Bactria, a more western route had been taken by trade, and that this route had connected the capital of the time being in Southern Mesopotamia direct with India on the one side, and with the Ægean Sea on the other. And, lastly, there were the accounts of the Arab travellers who had made it clear that in their period a great route, long since forgotten, had run from Hormuz, the present Bandar Abbas—the name in mediæval times was a synonym of great wealth—to Sistan, which had been in almost daily use. Taking all these points into consideration, it seemed open to no reasonable doubt that the remains of some great trade route were to be found close to Robat, and I made it my task to find it. Later on an opportunity offered of climbing the Koh-i-Daftan Mountain, a peak in the Sarhad Range which, from a height of 13,000 feet, commands a view of the plains for a great distance around. A glance was sufficient to convince me that the great trunk road, if it ever existed, must have passed immediately between the western foot of the range and the great white mass of shimmering heat which represented the great desert, and which I could see extending in an unbroken band as far as the eye could reach. Thanks to the good offices of Mr. Gabler, of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, search was made, and the old trunk road was found, with its ruined stages provided with caravanserais, posting and store houses, guard-posts, and, more interesting still, with lofty lighthouses, on the summits of which traces were found, in some cases, of the beacon fires which were kept burning at night to guide the flow of traffic, which apparently never ceased. For many years it has been one of my ambitions to see this old-time trade route restored and pulsating with life and energy, and with our railway terminus in such immediate vicinity to it we may look forward, I think, with confidence to this now ensuing.

The Persian is the most unwearying of land travellers, but he detests the sea, and will never willingly embark on it. It is quite certain that our Frontier terminus will attract a yearly increasing number of Persians to India, provided that the difficult section between Bam and the railway is made easily passable. Branch connection with Kirman by means of a caravan track of the type of the erstwhile Nushki-Sistan caravan trade route is most desirable and should be established. All that is needed is to have stages marked out which should be provided with wells, caravanserais, storehouses, and accommodation for Baluch-Persian levy guards. The grant of levy service, for guard duties, to the Sarhad Baluch would be followed by the steadying effect that levy service invariably carries with it on the Frontier. Naturally the re-opening of this route would have to be arranged in friendly co-operation with the Persian Government. This branch-route connection outflanks the great desert, and, if made, must become the main route by which all Persians will travel from the Yezd direction. Some years back I was so favourably impressed with the prospects which a direct caravan route connecting Robat with Kirman, through Bam, then held out that a scheme for this was prepared; but, unfortunately, border lawlessness intervened to prevent its materializing. Telegraph communication over this section is already provided by the Indo-European overland telegraph line.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the political effects which our new railway will carry with it, as conditions are at present obscure, and they keep changing from day to day. I shall therefore merely touch on a few instances where we can, with every confidence, estimate with precision the results which will follow.

The late war has emphasized, with an insistency which almost makes one's head ache, that in these times, when whole nations take part in warfare, no army can hope to operate successfully without unlimited munitions supplied by lateral feed railways. The new line must, in these circumstances, become a highly important factor in securing the effective defence of our Indian Empire.

Another of the recent war's lessons is the prominent part played in a campaign by antagonistic political propaganda. Any hostile propaganda directed towards India, through Afghanistan, from the west can now be short-circuited.

The railway provides the Government of India with effective means of translating into active action, should circumstances ever demand it, their treaty obligations towards Afghanistan, and we may take it that this is quite as patent to H.M. the Amir as it is to us.

We have shown in innumerable ways, during the past twenty-five years, that the policy which animates us towards Persia is one of friendly assistance combined with a desire that she shall work out her salvation on her own lines without outside interference. This

policy we are now in a much more favourable position to render effective.

The fact that Afghanistan is surrounded on two sides, can be penetrated from several intervening points, and is guarded by us from outside aggression, should not only exercise a stabilizing effect on the interior and exterior politics of that country, but will supply the Amir with moral strength to deal with any recalcitrant political faction in his country. In Oriental countries political passions are prone to blaze up and burn violently.

For many years past the Baluch tribes of the Sarhad have been in a state of open revolt against the Persian Government, and have raided as far as Kirman and beyond Birjand, inflicting immense damage and suffering. This state of affairs will now, happily, terminate, and permanently so.

The arms traffic between the Persian Gulf and the Indian frontier which prior to the war had engaged the anxious attention of the Indian Government can now be brought under effective control, a matter of extreme present importance in view of the immense supply of rifles, machine-guns, munitions, and explosives which will soon be thrown on the very limited arms markets of the world.

The railway has already proved its great potential value as a defensive insurance measure, and as the years unfold, the rôle which it is destined to play here will not fail to become more and more apparent.

Let us now direct our attention to that great trade-distributing centre Meshed, the head of the Khorassan Government, with a population of 80,000 and a pilgrim traffic to the shrine of the Imam Raza of some 50,000 pilgrims annually, and the capital of a province possessing various deposits of copper, iron, and coal, which have never yet been touched, and the most celebrated turquoise-mines in the world, which have remained unworked for several years owing to maladministration.

Meshed, east of the great desert, is situated 177 miles by cart road from Askabad, on the Transcaspian Railway; 84 miles by hill-track from Doshak, a railway-station on the same line; 175 miles from Merv; and about 231 miles from Herat. A branch line connects Kushk, on the Afghan-Russian frontier, with Merv, and Herat itself is some five marches from Penjdeh.

The trade of Khorassan, in round figures, is two and three-fifths millions. I would like to say, in regard to this figure and such others as I will quote, that the latest reports available are those for the year 1914-15, and that subsequent to that year no Consular reports were issued. This is to be regretted, I think, for in the peculiar circumstances which have governed Russian and British trade with the Khorassan province it would have been a matter of distinct interest to have been able to trace the gradation of effects which followed on the compulsory



withdrawal of those artificial conditions on which Russian trade with Khorassan and Central Asia has been supported for so long.

For a long period in her history India had conducted a highly lucrative trade with Central Asia and Khorassan, and this continued down to the year 1880. Prior to the accession, in that year, of the late Amir Abdur Rahman to the throne of Afghanistan, this trade had largely passed through Afghanistan to Central Asia and Khorassan. It had been subject to many vicissitudes, but was healthy, and had survived all. The first serious blow this trade received was from the policy inaugurated by Amir Abdur Rahman, under which heavy dues, etc., were imposed. Under this blow Indian trade wavered, demand contracted, and prices rose. In the year 1885 Merv fell to Russian arms, and not long afterwards the construction of the great Transcaspian Railway to Askabad was undertaken, which was later on extended to Taskend, through Bokhara, and Samarkand. In the year 1895 Russia introduced, as has been said, a system of tariffs and bounties, framed with the end in view of driving all competing Central Asian trade out of the market, and of placing her trade with Khorassan in a position of such predominance that no successful competition would be possible. In the case of our Central Asian trade this end was quickly attained, and since that date every year has borne evidence to the growth of Russian trade at the expense of ours. In 1913-14 Russian trade with Khorassan stood at over £2,300,000 sterling, whereas our trade had dropped to £130,000 sterling, with exports £15,000 and imports £115,000. British trade put up a gallant fight, but it was a losing one, for on the Russian side there were the following overwhelming advantages:

Ready access by railway and a cart road to Meshed itself. Khorassan exports being almost wholly confined to such bulky articles as wool, cotton, dried fruits, raw hides, etc., our traders were unable to touch them at a profit, and this gave the Russian trade very material advantages. Buying and selling in Persia, a country of mere tracks and pack-animals, is very intimately interassociated, and the trader who can move bulky articles profitably and at the same time supply the seller or buyers' needs has trade all his own way.

A system of favourable tariffs and bounties. The nature of these can best be judged by giving a few examples.

Some of these bounties amounted to 15 per cent. of the value of the goods concerned. On cotton goods the bounty stood at Rbs. 1 c. 40 on 6½ pounds. In 1914-15 the value of the sugar exported by Russia to Khorassan amounted to £350,000, and this bounty-fed sugar could be purchased in Meshed at half the price it stood in the Askabad bazaar. Persian cotton, of which a great deal is grown at Sabzewar, was allowed entry into Russia at a nominal customs of c. 40 per 36 pounds, as against a duty of Rbs. 4 c. 15 imposed on cotton importations from all other countries.

The establishment of selected trade agents at Meshed, Sabzewar, Turbat-i-Haidari, Sheik Jam, and Birjand, etc. These acted as local distributing agents, kept in touch with producers and buyers, and arranged prolonged credits; for instance, they would sell tea at 10 Krs. per 6½ pounds cash, but would allow customers credits for ten, twenty, and even fifty months at Krs. 12, 14, and 20 respectively, a system which seems greatly to appeal to the Persian mentality.

The predominant position which Russia enjoyed owing to the loan of 22,000,000 roubles she had made to Persia, on the security of the Persian Customs income. It is useless to blink at the fact that in innumerable little ways which had, in the aggregate, a great effect the Belgian Customs employees, with whom the collection of Customs rested, were made to feel that their personal interests lay in favouring Russian trade at our expense. It is true that some of these employees endeavoured to keep the balance equal, but these were the exception.

From the favourable position she held in Northern Persia, the Russians were in a position to deal far more effectively than we were with fraudulent bankrupts, defaulting buyers, sellers, carriers, etc.

The unscrupulous use of any circumstance which could be turned by the Russians to their advantage. For instance, in 1896, when plague first appeared in Bombay, the Russians succeeded in closing all trade routes by which Indian trade passed from the Gulf ports to Khorassan, as well as the road from Herat to Meshed, but they were careful to keep their own trade route through Penjdeh to Herat open.

Against this, our nearest point of entry was placed some 900 miles away; the time involved by the journey was from 80 to 120 days; bulky goods could not be moved; our valuable tea trade, from the point of view of securing return trade, had passed almost wholly under the control of Russian dealers, and was compelled to adopt the Bombay-Constantinople-Batoum-Baku route to Askabad.

I have frequently been told that I am optimistic; that to recover our lost Persian and Herat trade is impossible; and year after year now for ten or fifteen years past it has been said that we have reached the limits of caravan trade expansion through Nushki; indeed, kind friends have urged me, in my own interests, to abandon what they believed was a hopeless struggle, successive consulate reports being adduced to support them in this view. The fight, however, was one which appealed to me. The issue was as clear as the stakes, and difficulties were great. I was confident that the future would see, as has happened, important political and trade developments; and although we have not yet won, yet we have now definitely passed well beyond the first and second lines of our great rival's defence. In the year 1897-98, the first year of the working of the caravan route, the value of our trade passing through Nushki amounted to rather over 6 lakhs; in the year 1913-14 to 51 lakhs; and in

the year 1917-18, the last year for which returns have been received, to rather over 60 lakhs, or, in pounds sterling, to some £400,000. These figures may not possibly seem large when brought into comparison with the immense figures of English trade in various parts of the world, but it is to be remembered that they represent almost wholly new trade; they have been built up laboriously without artificial stimulus other than the assistance rendered by the railway concessions to which I have referred; they relate to caravan-borne trade, as distinct from rail-borne trade, attracted from an immense distance and across some 370 miles of almost desert country; and they have been obtained in the face of great difficulties and an almost crushing difference in value between our exports and imports which compelled, in many cases, pack-animals to come down to railhead empty. Yet, again, that these figures, if compared to the entire "Land-borne trade of the provinces of Sind and Baluchistan" for the year 1897-98, the year the trade route was first opened to traffic, stand at 60 lakhs to 81 lakhs.

Apart from the question whether Russia will be able to rehabilitate herself and re-establish those conditions in Transcaspia and Central Asia which existed prior to the war—a matter of very real doubt indeed in view of the tide of anarchy under which she is at present submerged, which has converted that once great Empire into a heaving mass of discordant factions, parties, and races, and has tumbled all her institutions into one general ruin—I can say, with every assurance, that no more favourable opportunity has presented itself to us, for more than twenty years, of recovering that economic position in Central Asia in general, and in Khorassan and Herat in particular, which we enjoyed for so long, and which has been filched from us by methods which were—well, scarcely fair. With a railway from Karachi direct to the Sistan frontier we have at our disposal all the means for doing so, and it now remains for us to make the fullest possible use of all advantages, and they are many, which a railway terminus on this frontier provides.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have listened to a most instructive and suggestive paper. There are one or two most competent authorities on the subject-matter of the lecture in this room, and I dare say they will favour us with some of their observations. I will invite Sir Hugh Barnes to be kind enough to make a few remarks.

Sir HUGH BARNES: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, as an old Baluchistan officer I have listened to Colonel Webb Ware's address with the greatest of pleasure, because it recalls to me many memories of that very strange country of which he has spoken to-day. I think you will all agree with our chairman that his address has been singularly interesting and instructive. It could hardly fail to be full of information, because I think it is no exaggeration to say that there is no man living

who has anything like the knowledge possessed by Colonel Webb Ware of that great Baluchistan desert, the Registan, and of the Chagai district through which the trade route passes. I can speak with some authority on this point, because it fell to me when I was Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan in 1896 to send Lieutenant Webb Ware, as he was then, to be the first Political Officer in charge of the new district of Chagai. Apart from the ordinary business of administration, Lieutenant Webb Ware's instructions were to develop the trade route to the Persian border. There had always been a little trade dribbling through from Persia to the value of about half a lakh a year; but the object was to improve the road and build posts on an absolutely desert route of over 400 miles, and, if possible, bring about some kind of activity in the trade between Persia and India. Lieutenant Webb Ware threw himself into the work with tremendous zeal and energy, such zeal and energy that very soon the trade route began to bring forth very fruitful results; and in the course of this work he acquired such an affection for the country and the people that, in spite of all temptations to go elsewhere, he remained in the district for no less than nineteen years—that is to say, from 1896 to 1915, when he was invalided home. I think, in these days of frequent and often unnecessary transfers, that is something of a record for the control of a single district by one officer. (Applause.) As you may very well realize, long before those nineteen years were over, Colonel Webb Ware's knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants was quite unique, his influence among the tribesmen was unbounded, and his name throughout the whole of that frontier was a household word—not only on our side of the border, but also among the nomad Afghans of the desert beyond. Now, I am not going to comment much on what Colonel Webb Ware has said, but he has asked me to supplement his address by some of my reminiscences of the desert; I can also fill up some of the gaps in the early history of this line, and can tell you something as to the particular events—the very interesting events—which led to the pushing on of this railway in 1916. (Map shown.) My first view of the desert was at sunrise in the year 1880, from the top of the Khojak, from which elevation you look over a wide panorama of the Afghan plain for some thirty or forty miles. On a clear day you see the hills over Kandahar, but what immediately arrests your eye is the great desert to the south, shining up in the early rays of the morning sun like a great orange band, extending to the horizon as far as the eye can reach, with here and there a great black, jagged peak sticking up out of the wilderness of sand. It is a most remarkable view. My first visit to the desert was in the same year, when I rode from Kandahar with Sir Oliver St. John and Sir Robert Hume seventeen miles to the edge of the desert, where we wondered at the great billows of sand piled up 20 and 30 feet high on the banks of the little Dore River, the only protec-

tion against the extension of the desert into the cultivated land of Kandahar. That was only a visit, and my first exploration was in 1884, when I was sent down to Nushki by Sir Robert Sandeman to prepare the road for the Afghan Boundary Commission across the desert to the Helmund. The Commission was going up to settle with the Russians the western boundary of Afghanistan, and the Amir refused, you well remember, to allow it to go through Kandahar, the shortest road to Herat, and insisted it should go through Lash Juwain and Afghan Sistan. The only way to do this was to cross the desert, and it was decided to attempt to find a road to the Helmund from Nushki. At that time very little was known of the desert at all; the only notes we possessed were some written by the late Sir Charles McGregor, Quartermaster-General in India, who at one time had travelled in the southern parts of the desert; but except that there was a track to Chagai, nothing was known as to the practicability of the desert beyond. After being a month at Nushki, I was joined by Captain Maitland, of the Indian Intelligence Department. Between us we discovered and stocked with supplies a route north of Chagai to a place called Galichah, about fifty miles from the Helmund. The distance from Nushki to Khwaja Ali, on the Helmund, was 225 miles. It was not an easy road to follow; we had to mark it out with ploughshares, flares, and posts in the sand, and we had to dig about 800 wells to provide water. Even then it was impossible to pass the whole of the Commission through at once. The party consisted of 1,500 men and 1,500 animals, and they had to go across in three or four parties at one day's interval, so as to allow the wells to fill up. At that time the old thirty-two miles to the inch map of India and the frontier showed the Afghan boundary as a green line about fifty miles from the Helmund, and accordingly we were to hold that the boundary of Baluchistan went up to *that* line. I went along with the Commission as far as Galichah, fifty miles from the Helmund, from which place they had to march fifty miles without water to the river. The Afghan Commissioner used to dispute with me at every stage as we went across that the boundary was reached, and that it was time for me to go back; but on the authority of the map of those days I went on as far as Galichah, where I said good-bye to the Commission and had to ride back with my Baluch escort across the desert. I have a very pleasant recollection of the ride. The fine bright desert air was most exhilarating, and I remember the high spirits of those Baluchi tribesmen. Whenever they got to a bit of flat open ground, they used to race their horses one against another. After this for some years nothing particular happened at Nushki beyond the ordinary border troubles. Part of the Boundary Commission came back by the same route, but nothing of importance occurred until 1895-96, at which time Captain (now Colonel Sir Henry) McMahon was engaged in demarcating, with the aid of

an Afghan Commissioner, the southern part of the Durand line—that is to say, the line agreed upon by the Amir and Sir Mortimer Durand as the boundary between Afghanistan and our own sphere of influence among the border tribes. Captain McMahon demarcated the Zhob border in 1895, and in the early part of 1896 traversed the desert with the Afghan officials and laid out the present line to Koh-i-Malik Siah, the point where the three empires, Persia, Afghanistan, and India meet. A good deal more was given to the Afghans than we thought to be theirs in 1884. But their claims were very extensive, and the line fixed on represented a compromise accepted by both sides. As you may imagine, to march from Chaman right across the sandy desert of which Colonel Webb Ware has shown some pictures was not an easy business, and Captain McMahon had a very difficult and arduous task, which he accomplished most successfully. When Captain McMahon came back I happened to be in Simla as Acting Foreign Secretary, and he pointed out the very urgent necessity of having a British officer in charge of the Chagai district between the hills and the new border, because the Khan of Kalat had practically no authority there at all, and there was serious danger that the new Frontier might be unsettled by raids on either side. The result was that Lieutenant Webb Ware was sent down to be the first Political Officer of the Chagai district. Captain McMahon, at the same time, suggested we should obtain control of Nushki, which was a small district paying revenue to the Khan of Kalat. He suggested we should take it over on terms similar to those on which we hold Quetta. Quetta is not British territory; Pishin and Sibi are British territory regularly annexed, because we took them from the Afghans after the Afghan War. Quetta is what is known as an "Assigned" district. We hold it on a lease in perpetuity from the Khan of Kalat at an annual quit rent. The proposal about Nushki was very favourably received at Simla, and in 1899 an arrangement was made transferring the Nushki district to us in consideration of an annual quit rent. Nushki became Lieutenant Webb Ware's headquarters. About that time there arose the question of running a branch from the Quetta Railway down to Nushki. Colonel Webb Ware has told you the reason for it. From Nushki to the Persian Frontier is an ideal camel country—most of it absolutely flat, a great deal very sandy. But Quetta is 5,500 feet high, Nushki only 2,500, and there is a mountain road between the two which is a difficult road for the rather lightly built camels of the desert. Also, there is very little camel grazing at Quetta, and the nomad Baluchis of the desert were shy of going into new country with which they were not acquainted, and which was often in winter under snow. The proposal for a railway was strongly supported by Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy. He obtained the necessary sanction from the Government at home in 1902, and the line was completed in 1905. At that time it was certainly in



my mind, and I believe that it was also in Lord Curzon's mind, that the railway would some time or other have to be extended to the Persian Frontier both for military reasons and in the interest of trade. But after 1905, beyond the improvement of the camel route through the desert, carefully shepherded all those years by Colonel Webb Ware, nothing was done until 1916. The arguments in favour of pushing on the line were twofold. There was, of course, the commercial reason, the advantage to trade of bridging the desert and of reaching the inhabited and cultivated country on the other side of it. Incidentally, too, it was always held that this railway would be a very great military and strategic advantage, because it would enable us at any moment, if necessary, in the event of an attack from the north, to put troops into the oasis of Sistan. Of course, in those days, when these views were held, the great anxiety of the Indian Government for many years—from the time when Colonel Valentine Baker wrote his book on "Clouds in the East" onwards—was, as you know, the aggressive policy of Russia on the far border of Afghanistan. When I went out to India, Russia was on the Caspian, but not across it. Gradually she encroached or advanced, very naturally, no doubt, until she was at Merv. Then came the Boundary Commission which settled the western boundary of Afghanistan, but it was always in the mind of the Indian Government that there might be some day an attack from the north, either in conjunction with Afghanistan, or under circumstances which would bind us to go into Afghanistan to defend it from encroachment. You will see that the occupation of a place like Sistan by a hostile force would not only upset the whole of our Frontier arrangements, and cause unrest and trouble throughout the whole of the border, but also, in the event of a British force operating from Kandahar in the direction of Girishk, on the Helmund, its flank could be turned up the Helmund River. On the other hand, if Sistan was held by us, not only would that manœuvre be impossible, but also considerable support could be given to any army occupying, or operating in, Southern Afghanistan in the way of supplies up the Helmund River, the Helmund itself being absolutely unassailable because of this desert, called the Dasht-i-Margo, on the north, and the corresponding desert on the south. Nevertheless, nothing was done after 1905, partly, I dare say, because Lord Curzon himself had left India, partly also, perhaps, because there was a Liberal Government in power. Whatever the other merits of Liberal Governments may be, I think most of us will agree that they did not in those days shine in the matter of military preparation. There was also a very plausible reason for not pushing forward, because, as you will remember, in 1907 came the welcome entente with Russia, with which our chairman had a very great deal to do. That, for the time being, removed the immediate fear of any aggression from the north. I will now tell you how it came about that in 1916 the Govern-

ment of India decided to push on the line. (Map of Persia shown.) In order to do so I must turn your attention for a moment to Persia. When Turkey entered the war, Persia, of course, was a neutral nation, and had every desire to remain neutral. It was to her advantage to remain neutral, and there was every hope that she would be able to keep aloof from the great conflict because, of course, Persia had no army which could be of any military value to either of the belligerents. That, however, was not the view of the Germans or Turks, and no sooner had the Turks joined in the struggle than all the German officials in Persia commenced to start at once a tremendous anti-British propaganda, which was so universal and so well concerted that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that their plans were carefully prepared before the war. I am, as perhaps you know, chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia; therefore in what I am telling you I am speaking of what I know from the information I have had from time to time. The first thing the Turks did was to take Tabriz, and that without any provocation at all. They turned our Bank Manager and Consul out of Tabriz, and our branch there was closed. This only lasted six weeks, for the Russians came down from the Caucasus and reoccupied the town. Almost simultaneously the Turks advanced on Ahwaz, a town on the Karun River, partly, no doubt, to embarrass our expedition at Basra, and partly in the hope of damaging the Anglo-Persian oilfields situated in the hills, whose pipe-line runs down the Karun from Ahwaz to the Shat-el-Arab, the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates. A few British troops were detached to defend Ahwaz, and as our expedition gradually advanced up the Tigris, the Turks were compelled to retire from this part of Persia. But they adhered to their object, and the next thing they did was to advance in the centre and capture Kermanshah, which our Consul and Bank Manager had to leave in a hurry. About the same time a German Consul, called, I think, Schiedemann, succeeded in winning over to his side the Swedish officers and the Persian gendarmerie under their orders, and took possession of Hamadan, where also our bank had to be closed. Very shortly after these German conspirators reached Kum, and there was a plot to persuade the Shah to go down there in the hope of bringing him over to their side. This was defeated by the efforts of the Russian and British Ministers in Teheran, and the Germans and their followers retreated south and seized Sultanabad and Ispahan. Our Consul at Ispahan, with the whole of the bank staff and all the ladies and children, had to march with very inadequate transport through the Bakhtiari Hills down to Ahwaz to obtain refuge. Almost immediately afterwards the enemy seized Shiraz, and our Bank Manager there, Mr. Fergusson, with all his staff, and our Consul, Colonel O'Connor, were taken prisoners, and brought down to a place called Borasjun, and remained in confinement for eight months. This coup was engineered by another

German Consul called Herr Wassmuss. From Shiraz the German filibusters pushed on to Yezd and Kirman, and our Bank Manager and Consul were obliged to take refuge in Bandar Abbas. Thus, at the end of 1915, out of seventeen branches of this Bank in Persia, no less than seven were in the hands of the Germans and Turks—Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman; practically the whole of Southern Persia was under German influence, and all the trade routes to the Gulf were closed. The position was obviously rather a critical one, especially as there was reason to suppose that the Germans were trying to get emissaries into Afghanistan. In fact, I believe they did succeed in getting a deputation into Kabul, but failed to influence the Amir. In January, 1916, I went to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, and pointed out that the position was a very unpleasant one. According to our information, there were only about thirty or forty Germans at Kirman, supported by a number of levies which they had raised. I pointed out that that was a game two could play at, that our officers were very much better at raising tribal levies than the Germans, and that there were plenty of men in Baluchistan a great deal better than any men the Germans were able to raise in Persia. I also urged the pushing on of this railway, which would enable us to strengthen all our Frontier posts from Koh-i-Malik Siah all along the border, and so enable us to exercise some control in Eastern Persia. I wrote two articles on the railway in that excellent little paper the *Indiaman*, now alas! defunct, and I asked Colonel Webb Ware if he could assist. He responded, with his usual energy and enthusiasm, with a series of masterly memoranda, full of knowledge and information as to the route the railway should take, and the character of the country—in fact, with a complete description of the whole of the route from Nushki onwards to the Persian Frontier. These were sent to the Indian Government; I have no doubt that the Indian Government were also looking into the matter on their side. You will remember that in March, 1916, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, with a few Indian troops, was sent to Bandar Abbas, where he raised some levies, advanced to Kirman, and drove the Germans successively out of Yezd, Shiraz, and Ispahan, so that before the end of 1916, with the help of the Russians in the north, most of the German and Turkish emissaries were out of the country—at any rate their influence was gone. Also, in the summer of 1916 the Indian Government took up the question of the railway and obtained the sanction of the Home Government to pushing it on to Dalbandin. It was represented to them that the railway could not possibly remain with its terminus at that place. To leave it there was like stopping a bridge in the middle of a stream. We needed to bridge the whole of the desert, and until this was done the railway could not attain its full usefulness or be as

productive as it might be expected to prove if it ran into Persian territory. Well, I have no doubt that the admirable arguments used by Colonel Webb Ware in his memoranda had a great deal to do with the decision of the Indian Government in pushing on to Dalbandin, but you will see also that their hand was to some extent forced by circumstances. They were bound to do something with the Germans in Kirman. But after Sir Percy Sykes's brilliant and successful march through the South of Persia there was not the same immediate necessity to push on from Dalbandin, and whether they would have gone on as quickly as they have done if nothing further had occurred I do not know; but in the meantime another danger had arisen. The collapse of Russia had taken place, the Germans had obtained control of the Black Sea, the Turks had landed at Batoum, and were clearly aiming to gain possession of Baku. There was an obvious danger that, if they strengthened themselves sufficiently at Baku, they might be able to send a small force across the Caspian on to the Transcaspian line, and so to Merv, which, although it might not be a serious military danger, would yet be sufficiently strong to create very great unrest all along the border among the Turkomans and Afghans. So here, again, I fancy the Indian Government's hand was to a certain extent forced by circumstances. The railway to Dalbandin was started in the autumn of 1916, and was completed in March, 1917. In this summer of 1917, after the Russian collapse, the Government decided to push the line on to Mirjava, on the Persian border. Work was begun in the autumn of 1917, and I believe this extension was finished last March. Since then the line has been pushed on thirty or forty miles to the neighbourhood of Koh-i-Malik Siah, possibly to a place called Dusdap, which I think Colonel Webb Ware has mentioned as being an important plateau, from which you look over Sistan and the country between the hills and desert. In the meantime, owing to the Armistice, the danger from the north has, in its turn, disappeared, at any rate temporarily, and there is no object in going farther. The points to remember—and why I mention them is that there are people who object to an advance of any kind on our Indian Frontier on the assumption that it implies an aggressive or jingo or militaristic policy—are, first, that there is, of course, nothing aggressive or even unusual in running a commercial railway through your own territory to the borders of a neighbouring friendly power; and, secondly, in this particular instance the hands of the Government of India were practically forced by the events in Persia arising from the aggressive policy of Germany in that neutral country. This completes up to date the history of this interesting and important railway. As to the future I agree very generally with what Colonel Webb Ware has said. Of course, any further extension of the line must depend on the Persian Government, seeing that we have now reached the Persian border. How far the Persians may be able

to finance any railway extensions in the near future I cannot say; but this at any rate may be asserted, that, with the railway brought practically on to the Persian plateau, the Persian Government have now an admirable opportunity of providing Eastern Persia with a system of railway communications which can hardly fail to be advantageous to their trade; and, although I have no knowledge at all of what the views of the Government of India or the India Office here may be on the subject, I should imagine that if as a first step the Persian Government were to ask for the extension of the line into Nasratabad in Sistan, the Government of India would be only too happy to meet their wishes on very favourable terms, because such an extension into the middle of a very fertile and cultivated area, to a town where there is a local Governor, a British bank, and a British Consul, must be of advantage to both parties. I think it would be a wise course to suggest this to the Persian Government. Whether it is possible to extend south in the direction of Bampur and Kirman is a much bigger question; but, at any rate, we may anticipate with confidence that the closer association brought about between Persia and the frontiers of India will certainly, as time goes on, increase the trade between the two countries. I heard the other day that already the railway as far as Mirjawa was obtaining satisfactory traffic. I may mention that an excellent illustration of the military value of this railway is afforded by a telegram in *The Times* the day before yesterday, which stated that a British force accompanied by an anti-Bolshevist Russian force had completely defeated a Bolshevist force fifty miles north-east of Merv. How do you suppose the men got there? They could not have got there without very great delay and expense unless this railway had existed. (Applause.) Therefore, although it would have been very much better if the railway had been made ten years ago, when it could have been made very much more cheaply, or even if it had been built at the very beginning of the war—still, it came in time to be of very great use during the last stage of the great struggle. I have nothing further to say except that I think it must be an extraordinary gratification to Colonel Webb Ware, after twenty years of unobtrusive work and patient endeavour on the trade route, to see at last his dearest ambition fulfilled and a line of railway built between Nushki and the Persian Frontier. I hope he will not object to my saying so, but there is no doubt that his knowledge and experience of the desert, and his ability, when this emergency arose, to put before the Government in the most minute detail every possible thing that they could require to know with regard to the 400 miles of desert, so that it was possible for them to operate quickly, without very much of a survey, and without much discussion as to the proper route by which to proceed, had a very great influence in bringing about the rapid and immediate completion of the line. Although his work has lain for many years in

an out-of-the-way district, where it has not been noticed, I am glad to think that at last all that he has accomplished in that part of the world is receiving recognition.

Sir HENRY McMAHON: Ladies and gentlemen, at this time of the evening I am not going to keep you for more than a minute. The pictures and the lecture have reawakened many old memories, but I am not going to bore you with those. We have listened to a most interesting and useful lecture by Colonel Webb Ware, and I just want to add a word of praise as to his work in that part of the world, which has facilitated and led to the railway of which we have all been talking. It is almost impossible to realize the change that has occurred in the country from the time when I first had the pleasure of seeing it. A slight reference was made by Sir Hugh Barnes to where the Afghan boundary was thought to be when he went to the Helmund in 1884, and what it is on the map as shown to you just now. Well, of course, the boundary was in a land which was absolutely unknown—known neither by the Afghans nor by us; as strange to the Englishmen on the Commission as to the Afghan officials who met them—a country on a perfectly incorrect map. In 1893, at Kabul, that portion of the boundary was the subject of great discussion, and nobody took any great interest in it except myself. In fact, I was in charge of all the negotiations for the Baluch boundary, and, strange to say, no portion of the whole of our boundary between India and Afghanistan caused more discussion with the Amir than that bit of Chagai. He had had an obsession for many years that it was the strategic point on which the safety of Southern Afghanistan depended, and he was not going to give it up. We had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to do so. He had taken every precaution to make it Afghan territory, because, when I went there to demarcate the boundary, we found Afghan posts and garrisons sixty miles south of where we hoped the boundary to be. Those had to be removed, and we got the boundary where we wanted it. In those days, from a few miles beyond Quetta to as far as the Persian border it was an absolutely uninhabited country, and almost unknown; and Nushki, which is now the capital over which Colonel Webb Ware has reigned so long, was by no means a friendly place. It was peopled by a wild, savage lot, so afraid of what I would do with them—I was angry with them because they had been rude to me from a distance—that when I went to Nushki in the first instance all the inhabitants fled and the head-men hid down wells. (Laughter.) I had them searched for and found, and took them back tied up as prisoners to Quetta. *Here* (showing on map) is Nushki. From here onwards, where we are talking of, is a railway, and Sir Hugh Barnes has just told us there is a lot of traffic by that railway. But we met no one at all from a point near Chagai. In a journey of six weeks—on my diary I saw it noted the other day—we only met three inhabi-



tants. Some years afterwards I went to Sistan and spent two and a half years on a mission there. I came home in 1905. I had a large party with me—something like 1,400 men, many horses, and about 3,000 camels. I came back by the trade route which Colonel Webb Ware had opened *here* (showing), and, instead of going through long waterless tracts—fifty and seventy mile stretches without water—as I had done eight years before, I found a long line of stages with wells at each stage; and when I came to Nushki, this very inhospitable place which I have just referred to, I found a nice tidy town built. I was met by deputations of the inhabitants. There were decorations and flags over the houses, and I was there for two or three days in the enjoyment of all the hospitality and entertainment the town could give me. That was all the result of the working of Colonel Webb Ware amongst a primitive, wild, people in an absolutely desolate and inhospitable country. This is the country through which the railway you have now heard of runs. As to the prospects of the railway, everything has been touched on, I think, except the enormous potentialities of Sistan itself, which I venture to prophesy will provide traffic for more than one railway in the days to come. I thank you, Colonel Webb Ware, for your most interesting lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we ought not to separate, ladies and gentlemen, without conveying our very heartiest thanks to Colonel Webb Ware for his most instructive paper; also, I think we ought to add that we are much indebted to both Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry MacMahon for the very useful and interesting observations they have been good enough to make. I therefore hope I may be authorized to thank Colonel Webb Ware very much for his paper. (Applause.)

Colonel WEBB WARE: My Lord Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the vote of thanks which you have passed is one for which I desire to express my grateful appreciation, as well as for the interest and attention with which you have listened to my lecture. The discussion which followed, I think, was of particular interest. I feel far from deserving the tribute which has been extended by Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry McMahon to the work with which I have been so intimately associated for so long. But if the Nushki-Sistan trade route has in any respects proved successful in the past, and the foundations have been well and truly laid for the success which I so firmly believe awaits its railway-borne trade in future, then permit me in turn to express the deep sense of the obligation under which I labour for the official assistance and sympathy I have received from the heads of the Baluchistan province, and for the consideration which has so readily been extended to me by the Government of India. (Applause.)

This ended the meeting.

## APPENDIX

## THE NUSHKI TRADE ROUTE\*

## A MUCH NEEDED RAILWAY

BY SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O

At a time like the present, when the grant for capital expenditure on Indian railways has been cut down from £12,000,000 to £3,000,000, it may seem rash to propose the construction of a new line, especially of a frontier line. But there is one project to which the events of the war have added so much importance, both from the commercial and the political point of view, that I think it deserves the serious consideration of the Government of India. I refer to a proposal more than once made, but never carried out, for building a light line of railway from Nushki to Nasratabad in Sistan, or, at any rate, to our Frontier post at Koh-i-Malik Siah, on the Sistan border.

The Nushki trade route from Quetta to Sistan was opened in 1897 in the hope of developing an overland trade between India and Persia. It was at that date placed in charge of Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Webb Ware, of the Political Department, who, as Political Agent for Chagai, has with unabated zeal and enthusiasm remained in charge of it almost continuously for the past nineteen years. It is mainly to his energy, enterprise, and knowledge of the people that the success hitherto achieved is due.

In the beginning the trade was small. Camel carriage was the only means of transporting goods over the 450 miles intervening between Quetta and Sistan, and the first 100 miles from Quetta down to the edge of the desert at Nushki ran through a network of hills, and was difficult. When Lord Curzon came to India he cordially supported the development of the route, and his Viceroyalty saw the appointment of a British Consul in Sistan, the establishment there of a branch of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and finally the construction of a railway on the standard gauge from Quetta to Nushki, thus eliminating the difficulties of the first part of the route. From Nushki to the Sistan border the trade is still carried on camels, but the road, which runs for the most part between the Kharan Hills and the Registan Desert, passes over an absolutely flat pebbly plain, presenting no difficulties to the construction of a light railway.

The railway to Nushki had an immediate effect on the trade, which has now reached a value of about £350,000 per annum. But this appears to be the maximum obtainable under present conditions, not only because of the increasing expense and great delay of camel carriage, but also because the limit of camel transport appears to have been reached. Unless something can be done the trade is likely to remain at a standstill, but if means can be found of increasing, quickening, and cheapening the transport facilities, a very great expansion may be looked for, even in ordinary times.

The present moment offers an exceptional opportunity for taking action. Owing to the war, Russia has prohibited exports to Persia, trade by the Baghdad-Kermanshah route has ceased, and all the

\* Formerly contributed to the *Indian* by Sir Hugh Barnes.

southern routes to the Gulf have been closed by the German intrigues. The Nushki route, therefore, is practically the only channel left open to Persia's foreign trade. Not long ago it was reported that no less than 2,000 camel loads of goods were stacked on the Nushki railway platform awaiting onward despatch, but that sufficient camels were not forthcoming. In September last the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Meshed wrote:

"There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that if quick transport were available on the route from Nushki to Sistan the piece goods import trade would be diverted from its present channel, and possibly also the large wool and cotton exports from this province could be profitably exported via India."

He added:

"We cannot but hope that the attention of our Government will be directed to the great possibilities for our trade which would now ensue from the Nushki route being better organized and a general speeding up of the transport. We venture to state that the result would astonish everyone."

It may be added that camels take the best part of a month to reach Sistan from Nushki, and the friction, delays, and disappointments connected with the organizing of caravans are a serious deterrent to enterprise. By rail goods could reach our Frontier at Koh-i-Malik Siah in a day. That is very briefly the case for the railway from the commercial point of view.

The political and administrative advantages of the line are hardly less important. I fancy the general public have a very hazy idea of what the Germans have been doing in Persia. That unhappy country, being neutral and of no military value to any of the combatants, might reasonably have expected to keep aloof from the great conflict. But this was not the view of the Germans. At an early stage of the war they incited the Turks to attack and occupy Tabriz, whence, fortunately, they were speedily driven by the Russians.

Next Ahwaz was threatened, but here British troops detached from the Basra expedition stood in the way. Then Kermanshah was occupied, and at Teheran the German, Austrian, and Turkish Ministers planned, in effect, to kidnap the Shah and his Government, in the hope of forcing Persia to join the Central Powers. The plot failed, thanks to the exertions of the British and Russian Ministers and the timely advance of Russian troops. The conspirators took refuge first in Kum, and then in Ispahan. They posed as the supporters of the Democratic party, preached a Holy War, suborned the Persian gendarmerie and their Swedish officers, rushed in arms and ammunition through Kermanshah, and raised from the dregs of the population a miscellaneous collection of armed levies.

The result has been that gradually during the past six months we have had the humiliation of seeing our Consuls and bank managers driven in succession from Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman. Kirman was the last place to be seized. It was captured, we are told, by a party of thirty or forty Germans and Austrians, aided by some tribesmen and malcontents from the town, in spite of the loyal efforts of the Bakhtiari Governor, Sirdar-ul-Zafar. The advance of Russian troops in the west has cleared Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Ispahan of the German filibusters, but Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman still remain in their

hands, and the British Consul at Shiraz, Major O'Connor, and the local manager of the Imperial Bank, Mr. Fergusson, are still detained as prisoners in the hills above Bushire.

But what, it may be asked, has all this to do with the Nushki Railway? Well, in the first place, the unrest in Persia has compelled the Indian Government, at great expense and with much delay, to strengthen its forces on the Sistan border. Secondly, it clearly behoves us to co-operate with the Russians in reasserting the authority of the Persian Government by clearing, at any rate, our own sphere of the German "banditti." For this purpose what a boon this railway would have been had it existed at the present time! We could certainly have saved Kirman. We could also have prevented or promptly punished the murderous raids which during the past two years, under German instigation, have been made from Persian Baluchistan on the peaceful inhabitants of the Mekran. In short, with the aid of the railway we could, with the minimum of expense and effort, have ensured the maintenance of Persian authority in South-Eastern Persia and have kept the peace of the border.

In a previous article I pointed out the political and commercial advantages of the proposed line from Nushki, and suggested that had the railway been in existence now it would have been of great value in enabling us to frustrate German intrigue in Eastern Persia.

With this object-lesson before us of the value of the line, both to the Persian Government and to ourselves, it is surely wise to see that we are not caught a second time without it. The Germans, in our place, with their usual foresight, would, no doubt, have constructed the line long ago, or if it had not been made at the beginning of the war, they would have pushed it on rapidly during the past year. Our failure to recognize its value in time is one more instance of British lack of preparation. Let us, at any rate, exercise some imagination now. The utility of the railway will not cease with the end of the war. The Indian Government is deeply interested in the maintenance of the independence and prosperity of Persia. England and Russia have mutually agreed to respect her independence and integrity. As one of the objects of this war is to uphold the observance of treaties, it is inconceivable—so long as Persia remains neutral—that this agreement should fail to be observed. We may be confident, therefore, that after the war the British and Russian Governments will make a determined effort to set Persia on her legs once more. It will greatly assist us in contributing our share towards the accomplishment of this desirable aim, and will also ensure for all time the security of our own Frontier if the Indian communications with the Persian border are improved in the way suggested.

It will not be out of place to mention that in another direction also the proposed line would have a military value which is not to be despised. Not only would it greatly reduce the cost of our Frontier posts, but, as may be seen from a glance at the map, the power rapidly to place and maintain a military force on the Sistan border would, in the event of trouble in or with Afghanistan, at once give us the control of the Helmund valley up to Girishk—a very important advantage.

There remain to be considered the administrative advantages of the line. One of them would probably be a considerable saving in the cost of maintaining our troops in Quetta. Sistan, watered by the Helmund, is the granary of Eastern Persia, and, owing to its inaccessi-

bility and its peninsular position, almost surrounded by deserts, grain and flour, sheep, wool, and ghi, are extraordinarily cheap, and could be landed in Quetta at lower prices than supplies from India. Another gain would be the opportunities afforded for the development of the country on the British side of the border. It is true that in appearance it would be difficult to find anywhere a more barren and desolate-looking tract than that through which the route passes after leaving Nushki, with the bare Kharan Hills on one side, and on the other the great Baluch desert, known as the Registan. But the security afforded by the existing road, with its line of levy posts, has already done much to settle the nomad population down to peaceful pursuits, to increase their flocks and herds, and to add to the revenue. The influence of the railway would, obviously, be much wider. According to Colonel Webb Ware, who knows the country more intimately than anyone else, it would open up a highly mineralized tract where salt can be obtained in unlimited quantities, and iron, copper, lead, sulphur, antimony, and ochre are known to exist. He also believes in the possibility of extensive cultivation from the waters of the Mashkel River if only a railway were available to carry away the produce to the markets of Quetta. All our experience on the Indian Frontier tends to show that even in the most inhospitable surroundings a railway tends in a very astonishing way to create traffic where none appeared to exist before.

But what, it may be asked, would be the cost of the line? It is important that the line should be treated purely as a branch or feeder line to the main railway at Nushki, and that it should be constructed on a narrow gauge, preferably the metre gauge. This for two reasons—first, that the line must be a cheap one; and, secondly, because it is desirable that no encouragement should be given to the notion that it might form a link in the proposed Transpersian Railway, which it is desired should run along the coast. The distance from Nushki to our Frontier outpost at Koh-i-Malik Shah is about 350 miles. The line for the whole way would traverse a flat plain, free from all engineering difficulties. A telegraph-line already exists, and intermediate stations would be few, and might be of the simplest and most inexpensive description. I am told on high authority that in a country such as that described the cost of laying the permanent way of a metre gauge line with light 36-pound rails would probably not exceed Rs. 24,000 per mile, even at present prices. If second-hand rails were used the cost would be less. Some of the metre-gauge lines in Sind are said to have been laid down for Rs. 15,000 per mile. Extra charges would be the survey expenses and cost of rolling stock. But probably old rolling stock, quite good enough for the immediate purposes of the line, could be obtained cheaply from the metre-gauge lines in India.

If these suppositions are correct, it is obvious the cost of the line would not be very great, and it could be laid at a very rapid rate. Probably, owing to the demands of the war, the Indian Government have no old rails in stock, and it would take some time to obtain a new supply. But I suggest that it should be possible to utilize the coming summer months in pushing on a survey of the line and preparing estimates, so that the construction, if decided on, can be begun in the early autumn.

Meanwhile, as a temporary arrangement, it might be practicable to relieve the congestion of traffic by organizing a motor-lorry service

from Nushki for at any rate a portion of the way to the Frontier. This would greatly relieve the strain on the supply of camels. But I have no hesitation in saying that a motor service would be no adequate substitute for a railway. The maintenance of a permanent and regular service would require the construction of a first-class metalled road, which would take as long to make, be far less satisfactory, and nearly as expensive as the light railway suggested. It is the railway that is really needed, and the adoption of half measures is likely to end, as is so often the case, in a waste of public money.



## OBITUARY

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### LIEUT-GENERAL SIR JAMES HILLS-JOHNES, V.C., G.C.B.

By the death at Dolaucothy, in Carmarthenshire, on January 3, 1919, from the effects of influenza, of Lieut.-General Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B., the Central Asian Society loses one of its original members and the Indian Army one of its most distinguished officers. Lord Roberts, in his "Forty-one Years in India" (Vol. I., p. 195), introduces him to us as "Jemmy Hills, one of the subalterns in Tombs' troop, an old Addiscombe friend of mine"; and a few pages later tells how "Jemmy Hills" won the V.C. for gallantry that saved the situation, and not merely a comrade's life—a form of gallantry which is considered by many not appropriate to the V.C. It is true that Major Tombs also on this occasion won the V.C., and saved Hills' life, but Tombs' action also saved the situation.

I do not think it necessary here to retail the list of the campaigns in which Sir James took part. That has been already fully done by all the leading papers of the day. He assumed in 1883, by Royal licence, the additional name and arms of Johnes, by reason of his marriage in the previous year with the co-heiress of John Johnes, of Dolaucothy, on the borders of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. In 1888 he retired from the Army, and in 1890 he made the journey which, doubtless, accounts for the early interest which he took in the formation and development of the Central Asian Society. He and I, having independently determined to avail ourselves of the invitation given by Russia to the world to visit the first Exhibition at Tashkent, met at Baku, and made the journey thence together to Tashkent and back to Tiflis between September 14 and October 9, 1890. At Tiflis we parted, Sir James being bound for England via Moscow and I via Constantinople.

I could say much of the interest of our trip, but I limit myself to two incidents. At Geok Tepe, the famous scene of General Skobelev's siege of the Teke Turcomans, our train stopped, and we had half an hour or more to walk from the station to the so-called Teke fortress. While we were still inspecting it, a loud whistle came from our engine. We started promptly for the station. Sir James said, "I am too lame to run," and then he told me how he had been injured by a wounded boar which he had tackled in a patch of sugar-

cane. We agreed to catch or miss the train together. We caught it. General Annenkoff during our trip was kindness itself, and at Amu Darya on October 3 gave us a farewell luncheon, bidding us "bon voyage" in a neat little French speech, to which Sir James replied in French, with that resolution which has characterized him through life. During the thirty years of his retirement he was a man of mark in his county, and when Sergeant Robert Bye, V.C., of the Welsh Guards, was welcomed home to Llanelly on Saturday, September 29, 1917, he was personally congratulated by Sir James Hills-Johnes, who was then the oldest living wearer of the Victoria Cross. The *Daily Graphic* of October 1, 1917, has preserved an excellent picture of that scene, upon which we who knew him cannot now look without a feeling somewhat deeper than interest. Sir James was present at, one, if not more, of the meetings of the Society in, I think, the first half of the past year. As far as I remember, he did not join in our discussions; but the part which he played in the Second Afghan War, and his visit to Tashkent in 1890, made him at home with that great "Central Asian Question" which was the *fons et origo* of the Central Asian Society.

A. C. YATE,

*Hon. Sec., Central Asian Society.*

January 6, 1919.

#### COLONEL R. H. JENNINGS, C.S.I., R.E.

To all who knew the late Colonel Robert Henry Jennings, C.S.I., R.E.—whose loss the Society has to regret—during the period of his service under the Government of India, it is well known that he was not cast in any ordinary mould. The mere routine of his life (*vide* "Who's Who") records his education at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, his receipt of a Commission in the Royal Engineers in 1872, and the various appointments which he held in the Political Department from 1879 till his retirement from the service in 1905. My own first personal meeting with him was on an occasion of some moment. My regiment, the 1st Baluchis, was encamped at Sharigh, protecting the Harnai Railway, then under construction. At a late hour on the night of the 1st or 2nd of August, 1880, an officer with a small escort rode into our camp and had an interview with Colonel Bell, commanding the 1st Baluchis, and Colonel Lindsay, R.E., constructing the railway. That done, he (Lieutenant R. H. Jennings) remounted and disappeared in the dark, bound for Duki or Thal Chotiali. He had left Quetta in the morning, come through with relays of horses and escort, and went on from Sharigh with fresh horse and escort. Quetta to Thal, via Kachh and Sharigh is a good

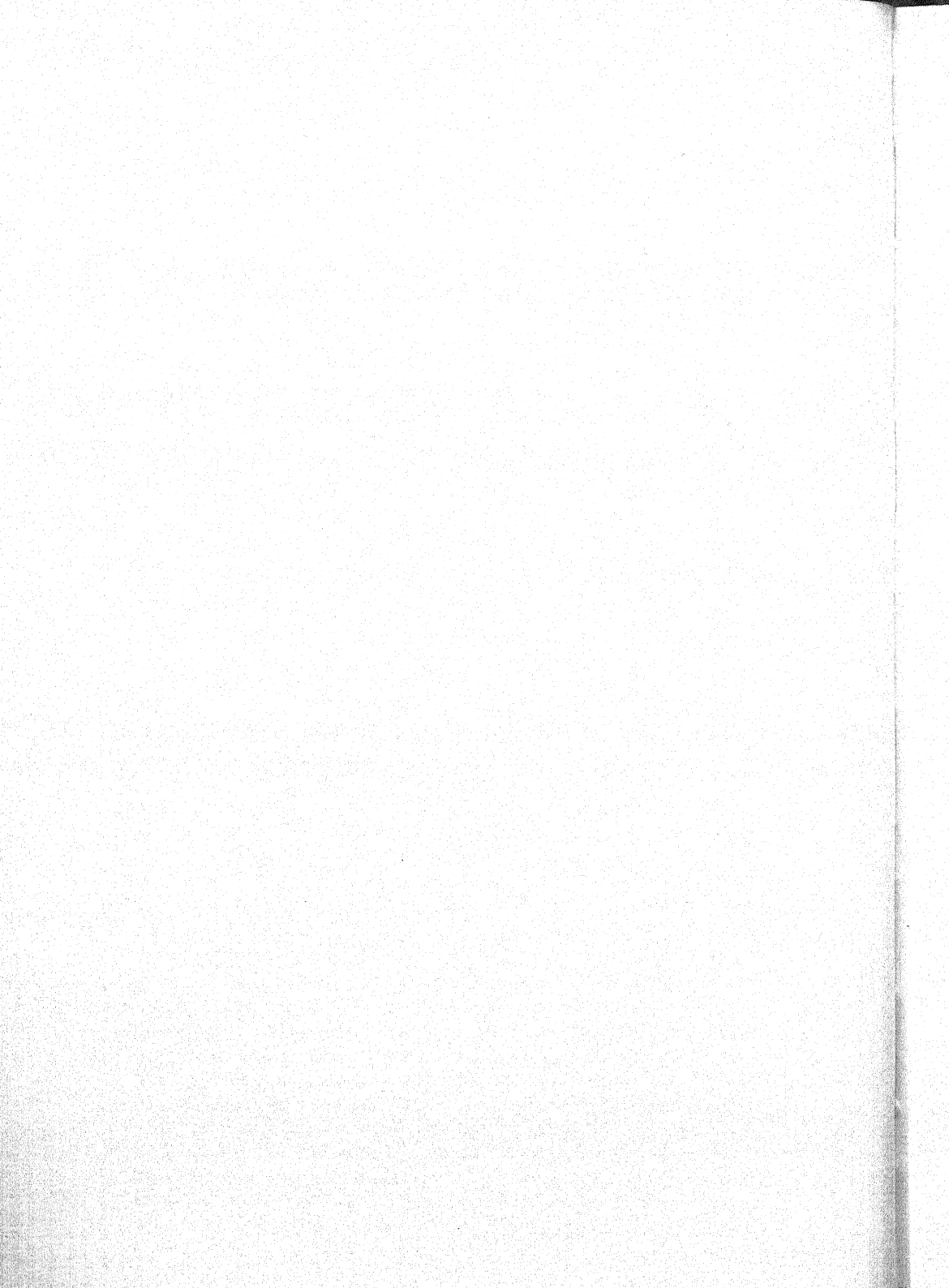
120 miles, and, as far as I know, Lieutenant Jennings covered the distance with only such halts as were necessary for interviews with the senior officers of the several stations which he visited, and for food for man and beast. The news he carried was that of the defeat of General Burrows at Maiwand. His ride was a good performance, acting on the Roman maxim of transmitting bad news swiftly and good news at leisure. Colonel Roome, from Thal, joined us with his force at Sharigh in a few days, and we then all moved on to Chaman, preparatory to an advance for the relief of Kandahar—a relief which, unfortunately, Sir Robert Phayre left entirely to Sir Frederick Roberts. Sir R. Phayre was in 1880 what Britain is accused of having so often been in the war just ended—viz., “Too late!”

Of Captain Jennings' subsequent travels in Baluchistan and Persia in 1886 I heard much at the time; and those who had the privilege of reading the diary which he dressed up for the edification of the Foreign Office and Army Headquarters at Simla assured me that it was distinguished by a bold originality of theme, style, and humour, such as the Foreign Office and Army Headquarters, to their regret, rarely met with in “Reports.” Refreshing diaries of the Captain Jennings school were admirably adapted to relieve bureaucratic monotony. It must have been just before he took these travels that I met him in the Panjab Club at Lahore, on my return from the Afghan Boundary Commission and on my way to the Delhi-Ambala manoeuvres of 1885-86. He was then employed on the Army Staff. Subsequently I rarely met him, and only once recollect seeing him at a meeting of the Society. One can but regret now that he was never moved to revive for the benefit of our Society the reminiscences of journeys which so edified Simla and Quetta thirty years ago.

Sir Hugh Barnes, who saw much of Colonel Jennings in the eighties of the last century at Quetta, writes to me: “I was very fond of him when we were together for a while at Quetta. His spirits in those days were exuberant and irrepressible. He was tremendously good company, and one could never feel downhearted in the presence of his infectious optimism. He was a great athlete too.”

A. C. YATE.

*February 11, 1919.*



LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF  
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

*CORRECTED TO MARCH 22, 1919*

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

### Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

### Chairman of Council:

1919. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.G., G.C.B.

### Vice-Presidents:

- 1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
- 1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
- 1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
- 1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
- 1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.
- 1917. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

### Hon. Treasurer:

1917. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

### Hon. Secretary:

1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

### Members of the Council:

- 1918. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
- 1918. COLONEL A. C. BAILWARD.
- 1918. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ., C.I.E.
- 1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
- 1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
- 1919. SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.C.I.E.
- 1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
- 1917. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.

### Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.



## LIST OF MEMBERS

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*The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.*

### A

- 1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
- † Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W. 1.
- 1916. Ainscough, T. M., Lindley Mount, Parbold, near Wigan, Lancs.

### B

- 1908. \*Baddeley, J. F., 84, Bruton Street, W. 1.
- 1917. Bahrein, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.
- 1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
- 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
- 1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1. M. of C.
- 1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.
- 10 1918. Mrs. M. M. Banks, 7, Wadham Gardens, N.W. 3.
- 1905. \*BARNES, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Woodlands Corner, West Byfleet, Surrey. M. of C.
- 1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W. 1.
- 1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, A.D.C. to C-in-C. Advance G.H.Q., and Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
- 1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
- \*† BENNETT, T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.
- 1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W. 1.
- 1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
- 1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.
- Bosanquet, O. V., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, Indore, C.I.
- 1916. †Bruce, General C. D.
- † Buchanan, W. A., 28, Great Winchester Street, E.C. 2.
- 1919. Bunsen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, P.C., G.C.M.G., Old Lodge, Taplow, Bucks.
- 20 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.

## C

1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1918. Campbell, John MacLeod, Glen Saddell, Carradale, Argyll.
1919. Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.B., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1908. \*CHIBOL, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3. Vice-President.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 40, Ovington Street, S.W. 3.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6 ; The Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockrind, Simla.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., 44th Battery, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force.
1907. Cuninghame, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.)
- 30** 1907. \*CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.

## D

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay India.
- †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1903. \*Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, The Hon. Mr. H. R. C., C.I.E., I.C.S., C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
- 40** 1903. \*†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W. 1.
1907. \*DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmain House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall. Vice-President.

## E

- †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.
1918. Evans, T. Herbert, St. David's, Llysane, Glam.

## F

1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W. 7.
1916. Fraser, The Hon. Mr. S. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., the Resident, Hyderabad, India.
1918. Frazer, R. W., 35, Briardale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
- 50** 1918. Frazer, Mrs. R. W., 35, Briardale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7. M. of C.

## G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.V.O., C.S.I., c/o The War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
1919. Garbett, C. C., Revenue Board, Bagdad.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., 7, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11.

## H

1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1904. \*Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
- \*†HOLDICH, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
- 60** 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W.

## I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.

## J

- \*†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.
- †Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
- \*†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.

## K

1907. \*KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, S.W. 5. M. of C.  
 1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.  
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.  
**70** 1918. Kuwait, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.

## L

1904. \*LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1. Vice-President.  
 1908. \*Lloyd, H.E., Capt. Sir George A., D.S.O., 48, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.  
 1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India.  
 1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.  
 1918. Lovett-Beresford, Major-Gen., C.B., C.S.I., 59, Madeley Road, Ealing.  
 1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurram Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

## M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E. M. of C.  
 1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.  
 1908. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.  
**80** 1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1.  
 1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.  
 1912. Medicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.  
 1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.  
 1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.  
 †Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.  
 1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

## N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 10, Holland Park Court, Holland Park Gardens, W. 14.  
 1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

## O

- 90** 1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.  
 1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.

## P

1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.  
~~1819.~~ Patel, F. B., 208, Upper Clapton Road, E. 5.  
 †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.  
 1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany,  
 Piccadilly, W. 1, and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.  
 \*†PENTON, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's  
 Park, N.W. 1.  
 †Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.  
 1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.  
 \*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 33, Onslow  
 Gardens, S.W., Junior United Service Club.

## R

- 100** 1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.  
 1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General,  
 The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.  
 1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.  
 \*†RONALDSHAY, H.E. THE EARL OF, Governor of Bengal,  
 Government House, Calcutta, India. Vice-President.  
 1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington,  
 W. 8.

## S

1918. Salvati, Signor M. N., Via Lamarmora 41, Torino, Italy.  
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military  
 Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.  
 1918. Shah, Ikbāl Ali, 11, George Square, Edinburgh.  
 1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele,  
 Florence, Italy.  
 1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co.,  
 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.  
**110** 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superin-  
 tendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province,  
 India.  
 1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force,  
 Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.  
 1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché  
 at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W. 8.  
 1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W. 8.  
 †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.  
 1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.  
 1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.  
 1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.,  
 c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.

# T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.  
 1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 96, Brook Green, W. 6.  
 120 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.  
 1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., Indian Army, 7th Haryana Lancers,  
 c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Maymyo, Burma.  
 1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe  
 Square, S.W. 10.  
 1907. \*TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place,  
 S.W. 1.  
 1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32,  
 Hans Mansions, S.W. 1.  
 1908. \*TUCKER, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

# V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.

# W

1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.  
 1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown  
 House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.  
 †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall,  
 S.W. 1.  
 130 1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay,  
 Groome and Co., Bombay.  
 †Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.  
 1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas,  
 c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Calcutta, India.  
 1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.  
 1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.

# Y

- \*†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal,  
 Shropshire. Hon. Sec.  
 1905. \*Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales  
 Terrace, W. 8.  
 1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.T., Ladies' Imperial Club,  
 17, Dover Street, W. 1, and Hotel Cecil, Western  
 Parade, Southsea.  
 \*†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I.,  
 K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1. Vice-President.  
 1918. Young, Mrs. Henry, Galgorm Castle, Ballymena, Co. Antrim,  
 Ireland.



# RULES

OF

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his

membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) six Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the the Council.

13a. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman,

exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, *ex officio*, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the

sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

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*C O N T E N T S.*

AN OLD ROUTE TO INDIA. By MR. FREDERICK D. HARFORD,  
C.V.O., F.R.G.S.

THE BOLSHEVIK AND GERMAN DANGER IN RUSSIA: ITS  
THREAT TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By MR. E. P. STEBBING,  
F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

APPENDIX I: THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY. By LIEUT.-  
COLONEL A. C. YATE, F.R.G.S., F.ROY.HIST.SOC.

APPENDIX II: THE NUSHKI RAILWAY. By SIR LOUIS DANE,  
G.C.I.E., ETC.



## AN OLD ROUTE TO INDIA.

At the monthly meeting of the Central Asian Society, held on the afternoon of Wednesday, March 12, 1919, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holdich, a paper on "An Old Route to India" was read by Mr. Frederick D. Harford, C.V.O., F.R.G.S.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, expressed regret at the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, the President. They had met that evening, he went on to say, to hear something regarding "An Old Route to India." He thought it would not be very long before they would be asking themselves by what new route they could get to India. They would be thinking of flying there by ships in the air or perhaps by a more direct and better understood method—partly by railway and partly by motor service. They could not fail to find a discussion of the subject not only of very great interest, but of considerable importance to those in whose hands might lie the arranging of future routes to India, especially as they knew it was no uncommon circumstance for these arrangements to be left to the decision of people who knew less about the business than members of a Society like their own. He then introduced Mr. Harford.

The ancient Median road from Persia to Mesopotamia has served for countless ages as a highway for invading armies, and for the passage of caravans bringing the produce of Persia, India, and China to Baghdad, and thence across the desert to Syria, Constantinople, and the Levant. One of the chief outlets for this trade was Gaza, and in ancient days, in addition to the existing three roads running south of Gaza along the coast to Egypt, to the north to North Syria, and to the south-east to Akaba and Mecca respectively, there was one which led to the east past the historic city of Petra (south of the Dead Sea), and thence to Mesopotamia and Charax, said to be Mahammerah, now some forty-two miles inland owing to the silting up of the great rivers, whence the petroleum pipe line now runs towards Ahwaz, and another to Gerrha at the innermost recess of the Bay of Bahrein on the Persian Gulf. An extensive field of ruins found here about sixty years ago is clearly the site of Gerrha, and as this place is shown there on Ptolemy's map, this seems now beyond dispute.

Gaza was the most important centre of the Indian and South Arabian trade. Politically it depended on Egypt, which long controlled its destinies, but commercially it depended on South Arabia; and Dr. G. A. Cooke says that the chief luxuries of the ancient world—silks, precious stones, pearls, perfumes, incense, and the like—were drawn from India, China, and South Arabia, and that Rome was a large importer. After the first century, when Petra became Roman, the trade passed largely into the hands of the Palmyrene merchants. The Romans built roads everywhere in Syria, and they can be traced far across the desert by the massive milestones, many of which are still standing.

The conductors of caravans were honoured at Palmyra with pillars alongside those of royal personages in the famous colonnade there. These leaders were generally of noble birth, and on some of them the title of "Prince of the Desert" was conferred. The caravans at this time (the third century) generally went to Vologasias, a vanished city, south of Babylon, named after the Parthian Kings.

The ruins of Palmyra (Tadmor) were discovered by two British merchants of the Levant Company in 1678, but they were forced by the Arabs to leave at once. However, in 1691 the merchants returned with Mr. Halifax, the chaplain of the Company, and a report of their visit and a picture of Palmyra, as it then was, were published by the Royal Society. I show this picture on the screen, as also a picture made by Wood and Dawkins, which appears in their splendid work on Palmyra published in 1753. The reproductions of the interior decorations of the Temple of the Sun might have been designed by Robert Adam, and perhaps inspired him, as he went to Rome in that or the following year, to study Græco-Roman art.

The number of ruined towns, forts, and stone conduits for water lying south-east of Aleppo and north-east of Tadmor mentioned by the English travellers in the eighteenth century, to whom I shall allude presently, is very striking, and proves that in Roman times, and when Palmyra was at the zenith of its prosperity, those regions had a considerable resident population, which has now practically disappeared. Two of these ruined towns are described as having church spires.

Without embarking on a history of the trade between India and Europe, I may recall here that Alexander the Great led his armies to India via Persia and returned by the Indies and the Persian Gulf and Euphrates to Babylon. In order to compete with the Phœnicians, whose chief port was Tyre, he founded Alexandria on an unrivalled site, where a narrow isthmus connects Asia with Africa, with communication by sea with Europe and India. This brought wealth to Egypt under the Ptolemies, and after the death of Cleopatra the Romans took up the trade with India by the overland

caravan routes across Syria and Arabia to the Persian Gulf, via Palmyra in the north and Petra and Akaba in the south, as well as by the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. Mr. E. S. Bouchier, in *Syria a Roman Province*, says that from North China a special silk route, mentioned by Ptolemy, led through Turkestan to Bactria, Media, and the Euphrates. He adds that there was a great Roman road from Antioch to Chalcis (north-west of Damascus), which was described by St. Chrysostom, and formed part of the route to Babylon.

At that time the desiccation of Northern Arabia, which is estimated by present-day authorities to date from the time of Mahomet, after a terrible seven years' drought, which led to the emigration of numbers of the Arab nomad population to Tunis, had not yet occurred. Palmyra and Petra were flourishing places, numerous Roman roads ran through Syria from north to south and from west to east, khans or rest-houses were to be found at regular stages on the desert routes, and wells and drinking-places were provided and kept in order, instead of being allowed to fall to ruin, as they have done under Turkish rule, which never repairs anything on principle. The more remote caravan-routes were marked by big stones at the side, but paved roads were commoner in Syria,' says Bouchier.

To illustrate these facts, I may mention that in 1909 Mr. Douglas Carruthers discovered the ruins of a large khan at Bayer, to the north-east of Maan, between the latter place and the famous oasis of Jauf, a clear proof, he thinks, that this was the old trade route from Petra (and thus from Gaza and Egypt) to the Euphrates and Persian Gulf. The old name of Jauf was Duma, and it is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicles of the Caliphs who succeeded Mahomet, in their wars of conquest in the west, as a place of great military importance.

The Romans sailed from Suez with the Etesian winds, and knew well how to make use of the monsoons so as to ensure fairly safe navigation at the proper season, bringing back the riches of the East to Europe.

After Mahomet's time came the Saracens, who in turn gave way to the Turks. In course of time the Genoese and Venetians obtained leave of the Porte to appoint Consuls in Egypt and Syria, and for some 200 years enjoyed a highly lucrative trade with India; but the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese eventually led to the decay of this trade, a fate which was later on shared by the Levant Company, which was founded in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and in the seventeenth century was at the zenith of its prosperity.

The fact is that the Portuguese found their trade with India so lucrative that in the first half of the sixteenth century they deter-

mined to close the two principal trade routes between India and Europe. They occupied Ormuz, the Gibraltar of the Persian Gulf, and so practically closed the overland trade from Basra to the Levant; and though they failed to capture Aden they almost stopped the traffic between India and Suez by occupying Socotra and sending warships to cruise about the Strait of Babel Mandeb, while in the east they had settlements at Goa and Malacca. The result was to divert trade to the Cape route. In course of time the East India Company, with its settlements at Surat and Bombay, and Gombroon (Bender Abbas), Bushire, and Basra in the Persian Gulf, supplanted the Portuguese, and ever since it has been the policy of Great Britain not to allow a foreign Power to establish itself in that Gulf, which was policed by frigates of the East Indian Company, who also utilized this route to carry dispatches between Bombay and Basra to or from England.

Prince Lichnowsky's disclosures as to the alleged intention of Great Britain to allow a German company to construct a railway from Baghdad to Basra, and to surrender the navigation of the Tigris, hitherto the monopoly of a British company, may be mentioned here, but the result of the war has fortunately disposed of the question otherwise.

It must not be forgotten that it was not for nothing that the Turks showed such zeal for the welfare of Mesopotamia by constructing the dam designed by Sir W. Willcocks for the irrigation of a large area of incredibly rich land. This eminent engineer has pointed out that once irrigation was in action, a railway would have to be built to carry the produce, as he has laid it down as an axiom that no river can serve the double purpose of irrigation and transport. Thus the German company would have had a most lucrative traffic the moment irrigation began. It is sufficient to add that certain irrigation works were effected by our wonderful troops last year, huge crops resulted, and the railway from Baghdad to Basra is now apparently a reality, though somehow the Press seems to have overlooked this fact; but it is a British undertaking, and not German.

Since the outbreak of the war the Royal Geographical Society have compiled a splendid new map, composed of a number of large sheets on the I/M scale under the direction of the War Office, of Syria, Palestine, Northern Arabia, and Mesopotamia; and in November, 1916, I volunteered to assist in translating and making précis of the journeys of various foreign travellers, chiefly in Northern Arabia, with a view to filling up some of the many gaps in existing maps, and at the same time I undertook, at the desire of Mr. Douglas Carruthers, the well-known traveller, who was collating all such information from various sources, to do what I could in the way of research work. He especially wished to discover the journal of

Mr. Carmichael, who travelled from Aleppo to Basra, across the desert, in 1751, the route of which is shown on a map in a book by Edward Ives published in 1773. It was during a search for this journal, carried on by us for about twenty months, when it was at last found, as an appendix to vol. I. (1772 edition), *A Voyage to the E. Indies*, by John Henry Grose, that Mr. Carruthers and I were fortunate enough to unearth a number of books, MSS., and maps, which have been utilized in the production of the new map. The paper I have been asked to read to you to-day is a sort of by-product of this work, and was the subject of an article by me which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in July of last year. A short paper on the same subject by Mr. Carruthers and myself jointly, and a far more important paper by Mr. Carruthers, appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society in May and September last respectively.

This research work threw a good deal of light on the importance in old days of what was styled on Ives's map as "The Common Route of the Caravan from Aleppo to Basra" for the trade between the east and west. I will therefore mention some of the earliest travellers who have left a record of their adventurous journeys of some 760 miles through the Great Desert, keeping well to the west of the Euphrates without approaching any place that can be called a town.

In 1528, Antonio Tenreiro was sent with despatches by the Portuguese Governor of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf to Basra, and thence overland by the Great Desert to Aleppo, reaching Portugal safely. Five years previously he had travelled from Aleppo to Basra, and his description of these two journeys is the earliest known to me. In 1563, Cæsar Frederick, a Venetian, went to India via Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basra and Ormuz, and in 1569 a Venetian jeweller, Gaspar Balbi, visited Baghdad and Basra. The traveller Rauwoff, in 1574, found a pigeon post maintained by merchants trading with those two cities, and in 1606 Gaspar de Bernardino, a Friar, who travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo, mentions as a curious fact that homing pigeons were used by the caravan-bashi to report to Baghdad their progress in the desert. They were thus able to report an attack on the caravan by a hostile force, with the result that the latter was attacked and deprived of the booty. In the eighteenth century we learn from an English traveller (Mr. Beauwes) that the merchants of Aleppo let fly pigeons with a billet tied to the neck "to gain early knowledge of the arrival of trading vessels at the port of Alexandretta with European merchandise. Bernardino saw the Arch of Ctesiphon, "large enough for a ship in full sail to pass under." He was the first traveller to mention its existence.

Pedro Teixeira, in 1604, was another overland traveller who has left a record of his journey. But after Tavernier's journey from

Aleppo to Basra in 1638 (with the exception of one Richard Bell and John Campbell) I can find no record of any traveller by this route till 1745, when William Beauwes travelled from Aleppo to Basra in order to collect material for a ponderous tome published by him called *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva*, or *The Merchants' Guide*, which gives many details of caravans and of the goods carried by them in Syria, Arabia, and Persia. Mr. William Foster, of the India Office, discovered a journal of this journey among the Orme MSS. there.

John Newberry, one of the pioneers of the Levant Company, was the first Englishman to travel from Aleppo to the Gulf of Persia—namely, in 1580. In 1583, when Queen Elizabeth granted the first charter to the Company, John Newberry, Ralph Fitch, John Eldred, "and other honest merchants" proceeded overland to Basra. They sailed from England for the Levant on the *Tiger*, and this event is recorded by Hakluyt and also referred to by Shakespeare in *Macbeth*, where one of the witches says "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the *Tiger*." Othello, too, just before he stabs himself, recalls how "in Aleppo once" he killed a Turk "who beat a Venetian and traduced the State"—an allusion to the trade of Venice with Syria. Eldred remained for a time at Basra to trade, while the other merchants sailed down the Persian Gulf to Ormuz, where they were promptly arrested as spies (at the instigation of Venetian traders, they believed) and sent to the Portuguese settlement at Goa, where they were imprisoned for a time. It is obvious that the Venetians and Portuguese feared that their trade monopoly with the East was likely to be endangered, and subsequent history has shown that they had good grounds for their fears.

John Eldred's venture prospered so well that in five years he returned home with other merchants from Tripoli in Syria in the *Hercules*, "the richest ship of English merchant's goods that ever was known to come into the realm," says Hakluyt. He was thus able to buy an estate near Bury St. Edmunds and build Old Saxham Hall, popularly called "Nutmeg Hall," from the source of its owner's wealth. This estate was recently advertised for sale, but the original Hall was burnt down.

Early in the seventeenth century the Italian Pietro della Valle\* and the French traveller Tavernier went overland to Basra, and in the Finch MSS. recently published there is a letter from the English Consul at Aleppo complaining that he had entrusted important despatches to "one Taverneer" for the President at Surat, but that through knavery or negligence on the part of the traveller they had fallen into the hands of the Dutch. With the latter nation, of course, trade jealousy was very strong, and for a long time the Dutch kept to themselves as far as they could the sources of their very profitable

\* Della Valle also describes the Arch of Ctesiphon.



trade with the East. There is no doubt that the Arabs in the same way made a mystery of the source of many of the products of the East which were carried by caravan across Arabia to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

From the middle of the eighteenth century to the turn of the last century a considerable number of Englishmen (most of them in the service of the East India Company) utilized the overland routes by Aleppo and Basra as an alternative to the voyage by sea, which was limited by the monsoons to a certain part of the year, in those days of sailing vessels. Bartholomew Plaisted, Carmichael, General Sir Eyre Coote, James Capper, Eyles Irwin, Julius Griffiths, and Major John Taylor, and two Frenchmen, G. A. Olivier and Louis Jacques Rousseau, are some of those who left journals of their journeys.

In the recently published *Memoirs of William Hickey*, allusion is made in the first two volumes to three gentlemen who travelled overland, about 1760, by this route at different times, going to or from India, and it is there noted as then little used by Europeans. One of them was murdered for the sake of the diamonds he was carrying.

In the last 110 years no traveller seems to have used this route, and its disuse as a caravan route is attributed to its unsafe nature, due to factions among the nomad tribes in the desert, and also to the hostility of the Turkish Pasha at Baghdad to caravans passing direct across the desert to Aleppo, which deprived him of the tribute he levied on all caravans which passed by way of Baghdad.

One of the most notable features on this desert route is the splendid Sassanian Castle or Palace of Ukheidir, which stands alone in the desert a little to the west of Kerbela, which was visited by Massignon in 1907 and Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell in 1909. The latter quotes a statement in a book by Carsten Niebuhr, published in 1778, that a place answering to this description was mentioned in the journal of an Englishman. Evidently she was unaware that she could have found first-hand information about this Castle in several of the journals I have cited above, such as Della Valle, Carmichael, and Rousseau. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that General Sir Eyre Coote "came back to England by the overland route through Egypt, which he was one of the first to adopt, in October, 1770." The writer, knowing that Coote travelled overland, evidently took it for granted that he went via Suez, whereas Irwin mentions in his journal that he had the very same guide that travelled with Coote from Basra to Aleppo; and a further proof is the mention, in the *Journal of a Tour to Hebrides in 1773*, of a conversation between Dr. Johnson and this famous Anglo-Indian General, who had just returned from India "through the deserts of Arabia." The diary of this journey was published in 1860 in the *Journal of the Royal*

Geographical Society, but the date of the journey is there wrongly given as 1780 instead of January, 1771.

I mention these facts to show how little this overland route and the fairly extensive literature on the subject is apparently known, even to those who are specially interested in the history and geography of Arabia and Syria.

On Major James Rennell's maps of Western Asia the routes of a number of travellers who had traversed the desert from Basra to Aleppo or from Baghdad to Aleppo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to be found, and all but one of their journals—that of Holford—were eventually unearthed either at the British Museum or in the Orme Collection of MSS., thanks to the help of Mr. William Foster of the India Office.

As most of these travellers were in the service of the East India Company, I was led to consult the Bombay Factory Records at the India Office, and found therein many proofs of the extent to which this overland route was used for the conveyance of despatches and mails between India and England, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Apart from these old authorities, I have not found any reference thereto in books published in the last hundred years or so, except by Colonel Chesney, of the Euphrates Valley expedition, and Mr. Barker, who wrote the biography of his father, the famous Consul-General at Aleppo and elsewhere in the first half of the nineteenth century.

As regard the political use of the overland route, the Finch MSS. recently published show that so far back as 1665 the English Consul at Aleppo used to send despatches and parcels by express messenger to Basra for transmission to India by the intermediary of the Latin Fathers at Baghdad and Basra. In this year we find the Earl of Winchelsea writing to Sir George Oxenden, President of Surat, as follows: "Amongst other curiosities of the East Indies I have a particular liking for that drinke which they call tea, and therefore I beg you to doe me the favour to send me by the caravans which come to Aleppo . . . a provision for 2 years, with the best receipt how to make it, and with the vessels to make it and drinke it in, and a silver cup after the Chinese manner, with woode in the midle." No doubt the records of the Levant Company, which are hidden away at the Record Office, will some day be published, and properly edited should be of great interest. I commend this project to anyone who has the skill and leisure to do it. The Levant Company (also called the Turkey Trade Company) appointed the Ambassador at Constantinople, and Consuls at Aleppo, Smyrna and Iskanderun; but foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople had to put up with incredible indignities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Edward Barton, Queen Elizabeth's second Ambassador, was poisoned by the

Turkish nobles, who feared the Grand Signor might become a Christian (see the Historical MSS. Reports). When France went to war with Turkey in 1798, the aged French Ambassador was shut up in a fortress for three years. Colonel Taylor, writing in 1790, thought that the existence of the Turkish Empire was not necessary to Great Britain, "as the Arabs are the natural guardians of those countries, provinces, and seas which divide Europe from an immediate connection with India." This dictum is of special interest now that the future of Arabia is to be decided, and that the Hedjaz forces have rendered us such valuable services in the war.

The diary of the Rev. Henry Teonge, Chaplain R.N., who visited Aleppo in 1676 with a squadron of H.M. ships which had called at Iskanderun while searching for Barbary pirates, gives a graphic picture of the life led by the wealthy merchants of the Levant Company at Aleppo. The Consul gave him a breakfast, when thirty-six dishes were placed on the table at once in three rows. Then on Saturdays they rode out with about forty of the English "to a river valley to recreate themselves. A princely tent was pitched, and they went in for duck hunting, fishing, shooting, hand-ball, krickett, and scrofilo; and then a noble dinner brought thither, with all sorts of wines, punch, and lemonade." Richard Bell, who visited Aleppo in 1669, speaks of coursing and hare hunting and wild boar hunting. The master fined all who did not observe order in the field. Turks, French, and Dutch took part in the sport. It was a proverb at that time that the Levant merchants sent their partners to Aleppo and their clerks to Constantinople, and the old cemetery at Aleppo contains the graves of many English merchants who succumbed to its deadly fevers and other ills at this time. In its palmy days the British factory at Aleppo comprised no less than eighty firms; in 1795 there were only four British firms there.

The commercial value in old days of the Basra-Aleppo route is shown by the fact that even in 1751 the caravan by which Carmichael travelled carried £250,000 worth of merchandise; at this period, too, caravans of young camels for sale used to be sent via Basra to Aleppo, and Plaisted mentions in 1757 that with the loaded camels a total of 5,000 camels was made up when he travelled. The pace of a loaded camel is almost exactly two and a half miles an hour, so that it is used as the unit in computing distances in the desert—a "camel-hour" it is called by some travellers. A small caravan took about twenty-five days, and a large caravan about forty-five days, to go from Basra to Aleppo.

The birth of Islam in the seventh century led to thousands of pilgrims annually visiting Mecca and Medina, and a number of pilgrim roads leading to those holy cities arose in consequence; some of them still exist, others have been superseded. The chief roads ran

to Egypt, Damascus, Baghdad, Basra, Kufa (near Meshed Ali, or Nedjef), and Wasit, south of Kut-el-Amara. The Persian Haj or Darb Zobeida leading from Mecca to Nedjef still exists. Long before Mahomet's time, however, Mecca was a heathen shrine resorted to by pilgrims, and a famous mart. It was, in fact, a city of merchants as well as a holy city, commanding two great trade routes between the lowlands and inner Arabia, the chief goal of caravans being Syria and especially Gaza, and through Djeddah trade was carried on with Abyssinia by sea. This mercantile character has been preserved by Mecca, and large markets are held during the pilgrim season. Beauwes spoke in 1745 of the immense riches brought there by five different caravans.

The Bombay Factory Records show that during the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a regular service of express couriers called Tatars, or "Life or Death" Tatars, says Chesney, conveying despatches to and from India via Basra. They travelled night and day, generally alone, and Mr. Manesty, the Resident at Basra, informed his Directors in 1799 that he had lately received despatches by them from Aleppo in thirteen to fifteen days, adding that a good Tatar would pass from Aleppo to Constantinople in eight or ten days. Thence the despatches were sent overland via Vienna, and during the French war to Hamburg and Yarmouth, instead of via Calais, Ostend, or Harwich; fast vessels carried the mails between Basra and Bombay. Some of the private travellers went from Aleppo to Iskanderun, and thence by sea to Venice or Genoa, and then overland to a Channel port.

Mr. E. E. Barker in his biography of his father, who was Consul at Aleppo from 1799 for many years, relates how, during the war with France and Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt and Syria, the official correspondence with Admiral Sir Sidney Smith could only be sent by this route, as the Mediterranean was unsafe. This route was also of vital importance during the campaign against Tippoo Sahib in 1799, as the French had occupied Suez. When Napoleon escaped from Elba in 1815, Mr. Barker was able to send early news of this dramatic event to India in the same way. He had learnt it from a newspaper which arrived at Latakia in six days from Genoa.

Warren Hastings, when Governor-General of Bengal, opened negotiations with the Beys of Egypt in 1774 for the passage of despatches via Suez to and from India, and in 1775 the East India Company appointed an agent at Cairo. Colonel John Taylor states that it was despatches sent via Suez that led to the fall of Pondicherry and the principal French settlements in India in 1778, before the latter were prepared or had any knowledge of the war. However, the East India Company succeeded in having an Act of

Parliament passed prohibiting British subjects from exporting produce from India via Suez after April 5, 1782, fearing their trade monopoly by the sea route might suffer. Another reason was the hostility of the Sherief of Mecca, who feared to lose the dues levied by him on ships that called at Jeddah, and induced the Grand Signor to put pressure on England to stop any trade via Suez, under pain of confiscation of the cargo and other penalties. It was also feared that the English would make maps of Egypt, and return and conquer it as they had conquered India. All this is set forth in a Firman quoted by Brissot, a French writer. Not knowing of this Firman, some English merchants going from Suez to Cairo were soon after despoiled and murdered.

The genesis of the Suez route to India is thus described by the traveller Karsten Niebuhr, father of the historian. Mr. Holford, an experienced mariner living at Bombay, obtained from a friend there a copy of a chart of the Arabian coast of the Red Sea made by Niebuhr in 1762. This gave him the idea of sailing direct to Suez, which he had often threatened the Jeddah authorities he would do, owing to the exactions placed on British ships which visited Jeddah. The Turks and Arabs, who never sailed out of sight of land, thought this was impossible, considering it the most dangerous navigation in the world. However, in 1773 Mr. Holford conducted the first English ship to Suez. The result was that prices for India goods fell so much through all the Levant that the East India Company could not afford to send them from London to the Levant, so they prohibited their Factors from trading on their own account, which they had hitherto been allowed to do. In 1774 other ships went to Suez, and in 1776 five ships sailed direct from India; and Niebuhr says when important events occurred, couriers were sent with despatches by this route. The Mr. Holford named above is probably the person whose route is shown on Rennell's map as having travelled from Aleppo to Baghdad in 1780. His journal I cannot discover.

The despatches of the British Factors or Residents in the Persian Gulf among the Bombay Factory Records at the India Office are a strange mixture of high politics and commerce. In the same despatch, Mr. Manesty, in 1799, would report the receipt of despatches from England and India, the arrival of warships from Bombay, the prices of goods he was dealing with on behalf of the East India Company, how he proposed to send a courier direct by the desert to Aleppo and also via Baghdad to Aleppo, to see which was the quickest route. He used to send duplicate despatches at short intervals, but he found that the first messenger merely waited for the second to catch him up, so that plan was abandoned. He would report how the Kia Pasha of Baghdad, when making an expedition in 1798-99 against the Wahabis, who occupied the oasis of

Hesa and Dereyah, asked him to secure the benevolent neutrality of the Sultans of Oman and Muscat, thus showing the extent of British influence in the Persian Gulf. Mr. Manesty would also report how he had intercepted the letters of French emissaries to Indian potentates, and how on several occasions he had actually seized these emissaries on vessels in the Gulf, and removed their papers by force from their disguised bearers. Mr. Manesty was on such good terms with the Bedouin tribes that he reported once that if the plague came to Basra he would go into the desert and stay with the Muntefik Sheikh. This same Sheikh in 1800 carried his despatches from Basra right across Arabia to Jeddah. Mr. Manesty was able to boast that his despatches sent by the desert routes had never been lost, and that when one of his couriers was robbed of them, they were recovered, and the thief's head was cut off as a mark of good faith.

All travellers admit the good faith of the Bedouin towards travellers under their protection, and it was the custom for the caravans to take with them a *Rafik*, or representative of every tribe on the route, and pay a tribute; then the caravan was safe. The Arabs of Mesopotamia have, however, nothing of the "noble savage" about them; and Balbi, travelling from Baghdad to Basra in 1580, says he met "many lions and Arab thieves" on the journey. This bad reputation they still maintain.

In recent times there was an express mail service between the British Consulates at Damascus and Baghdad, and the Turks later on had a similar postal service. From the description of the route by travellers it seems quite feasible to go by automobile from Damascus to the Euphrates—water, too, is found here at no great depth apparently—and indeed a very large area of the Syrian and Arabian deserts has a hard surface; but the two Nefud deserts, which are of drifting sands, would be impassable. It will now be possible, therefore, for future travellers to explore many quite unknown districts of Arabia, as there are said to be the remains of many old cities in Southern Arabia north of Hadramut, which no European has hitherto been able to visit. The automobile and the aeroplane will open up vast possibilities of exploration in this land of mystery.

Colonel Taylor states that in 1790, a year after his journey from Aleppo to Basra, he reported to the Governor of Bombay on the great advantage of the Suez route over the former route in point of time. He proves this in his book by a number of itineraries from India to England. However, I believe it was not until 1837, on the introduction of steam navigation, that the Suez route was finally adopted, after Colonel Chesney had reported favourably on the possibility of a scheme for utilizing the Euphrates for steam navigation along a large portion of its course. This scheme, however, came to naught, to the great disappointment of this intrepid explorer, as did



the scheme in 1856 for the Euphrates Valley Railway, which would have been a sort of Baghdad Railway from Tripoli to Basra. Chesney had reported on the feasibility of a Suez Canal before he studied the Euphrates route, and, by the irony of fate, it was his report which induced M. de Lesseps (who was not an engineer) to take up the Canal project many years later, which has influenced the development of our Empire so vastly. The chief opposition to the Euphrates Valley Railway came from Napoleon III., who in 1869 opened the Canal to irrigation. The medal commemorating this event bears the legend "*L'épave française prépare la paix du monde.*" However, next year the Franco-German war broke out.

Beauwes, who visited Basra in 1745, wrote: "The English and the Dutch make a considerable figure here, they having their factories here, and despatch their letters by land, which is done by way of Damascus and Aleppo. The caravan of Bassorah is one of those that carry to Bender Abbazi (Gombroon) a part of those rich goods with which that trade is supported, and the same caravan brings back on its return the products of India, China, Japan, and Europe, of which Bender is the depository, staple, and storehouse for Persia and the three Arabias." He also speaks of the Persians who passed Basra on their pilgrimage to Mecca, and sell goods which they bring in their little caravans going and coming.

Of the trade of Bender Abbas, Beauwes wrote in 1745: "Divers caravans of merchants are seen coming in from Ispahan, Basra, Laor, Aleppo, Baghdad, Herat, Shiraz, and the Levant, with gold and silver stuffs, velvets, taffeties, porcellain, feathers, morocco leather, wool brocades, carpets, Turkey camblets and other slighter ones from Arabia, dragon's blood, manna, myrrh, incense, raisins, dates, Barcun horses, but particularly raw silk (which is the greatest article in the Persian trade), turquoises, and pearls."

The same writer alludes to the caravans from Aleppo and Suez, which joined forces en route, and went to Mocha in South-West Arabia; the merchandise carried included merceries from Nuremberg, and Hungarian, Venetian, and Moorish gold ducats and dollars. On the return journey, all kinds of medicinal and odoriferous plants, and, above all, coffee.

However, from a paper read by Lt.-Colonel G. S. F. Napier before the Royal Geographical Society in November last, it seems certain that motor roads are to replace caravan routes both in Northern and Southern Persia. He himself had been by motor from Baku to Baghdad, and a railway is being rapidly made from Baghdad to Khanikin on the Persian frontier, where the motor road would begin. Colonel Napier said that Sir Percy Sykes was doing much to improve the roads in South Persia, which were much worse than those of Northern Persia. Cars had travelled from Quetta to Kerman and

thence to Shiraz. A practical motor road had been surveyed between Bender Abbas and Shiraz, and should now be an accomplished fact. Both in Northern and Southern Persia, with the great supplies of petrol at Ahwaz and Baku and the Pipe Line in Southern Persia, motor transport is simplified and cheapened, and is likely to be a far more paying affair than a railway in hilly and remote districts, and a dangerous rival to the caravan, which, however, will probably always be found indispensable in certain regions of the East. Motor roads will anyhow be invaluable as feeders to railways in Persia.

In conclusion, I must allude to the recent flights by large British aeroplanes from Cairo to India, one of which followed an old caravan route by flying from Damascus to the Euphrates and Baghdad via Tadmor.

The Engineering Supplement of *The Times* for February describes a scheme, of which Mr. Gustave Defosse is the author, for a Ship-canal starting from Suedia, the ancient Seleucia, ascending the Nahr-el-Asi (the Orontes) towards Antioch, and thence via Aleppo to Kalat Balis on the Euphrates. The total length from Suedia to Fao, at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, would be about 969 miles. It must be remembered that Aleppo is 1,100 feet above sea-level, and in view of the very high cost of such a scheme it is probable that a railway running from west to east, connecting Damascus with the Euphrates and another linking up the Egyptian railway system with Basra, are far more promising propositions. Hitherto the Bedouin tribes have been opposed to railway development, which is one reason why the Hedjaz railway has not yet been extended from Medina to Mecca, though it has been surveyed, following very closely the old caravan route. The Bedouin do not relish the idea of losing the tribute which from time immemorial they have levied on caravans that pass through their territory.

These, then, are the latest forms of locomotion which may be destined to supplant the old-time caravan in the Arabian Peninsula and in the East generally in the near future.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that the paper was so full of geographical and historical references that it afforded many points for useful and interesting discussion. A great deal of it recalled the ancient routes across Arabia from Aleppo, or Syria, to Baghdad; from Syria to Bushire on the Persian Gulf; or from Syria to Muscat, at one time the chief centre of the Arabian trade. They had but little conception of the amount of commercial traffic which those routes carried in the days of Arab ascendancy—days to which they could hardly conveniently look back because they were so remote, and the history regarding them was so exceedingly vague. A book had lately been published by Colonel Miles, who had lived for some time at Muscat,

at Basra, and at Baghdad. Colonel Miles was thoroughly saturated with the traditions of the East and with Oriental literature generally. From reading his book, which was entitled *The Countries and the Peoples of the Persian Gulf*, he had, for the first time, arrived at some idea of the greatness of Arabia in the days of her ascendancy both by land and sea, when all the commerce of Asia was under her control, and she had complete command of the sea from the Persian Gulf to the Indian coast. She was then by far the most powerful nationality, as her people were the most wealthy on the face of the earth. He thought it was somewhat a matter of pride to us, or it ought to be, that there is a prospect of at least some of her former power and independence being restored to her through British intervention and influence. As regards routes across Arabia to India, he confessed he did not think any of those which had been suggested or mentioned as being possible would materialize or come into use in the near future. If in order to reach India they had to pass overland through Persia, they would have to adopt the Northern system of railways connecting up with the Russian system, which now had its terminus at Tabriz or Teheran. From Teheran the railway may eventually be carried across Persia either on a Northern line near the Elburz Mountains towards Herat or southward first of all into Central Persia and thence eastwards towards India; or by a third route, which he regarded as hardly practicable, one which kept to the coast. They must remember that the Arabs, when they wanted to reach India, carried on their trade by sea. It was only because they had the command of the sea that they were able to trade with India. Their trade route was principally from Muscat to Charbar on the Makran coast of Baluchistan, which was an Arab colony the same as Gwadar, further east. Charbar was the point at which the first of our seaplanes that made the flight to Delhi from Egypt rested en route. It is a station on the Indo-Persian telegraph line. At Charbar the influence of the south-west monsoon begins to fade away, so that whilst the monsoon winds carried the traders conveniently to that point, they afterwards adopted a land route and followed the Makran coast to the north-east corner of the Arabian Sea, and then turned southward to Sind. It had always seemed to him that those who were more or less cultivating the idea of overland routes to India were a little bit hazy in their minds on the point as to how they were to cross the frontiers of India. There was one historic way from the far north which Alexander the Great followed, but that way was entirely out of the question. He referred to the passes of the Hindu Kush. All mediæval routes centred on the north-west corner of India. This appeared to have formed the one great gateway into India, the one which, through all time, had proved to be the most easy of access, and, as regarded Asia, the most vulnerable. That was

the route by which the Arabs conquered Sind and held the whole of the Indus Valley. That, he could not help thinking, would be the necessary objective in any line that might now be contemplated to India. The Arabs very carefully avoided any contact with what they might call the independent tribes of our Indian frontier. They never meddled with them at all. Neither did the Greeks ever meddle with them. Indeed, we were really the first people who had dived into the recesses of the frontier hills and instituted anything like a reasonable and sound administration of their country. It might, perhaps, be said, Why should not the line go through Persia to Quetta? That, of course, was matter for discussion. For his own part, he thought the connection between Quetta and the Indus Valley was a weak one, and that a better, a stronger route into India could be found further west of Quetta and nearer the coast. That also was a point which was quite open for discussion. He should like to ask some gentlemen present interested in the Indian frontier to express their views on the subject.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND said he had been extremely interested in the paper, for it renewed their knowledge of Arabia and convinced them of the magnificent country it was in the olden days, and how very much the caravan routes to India used to be utilized. The paper had also opened up visions for the future, and it was about this aspect which they should be chiefly concerned. He thought the lecturer had said that the domination of the Arab in the old days was preferred to that of the Turk in more recent times. Now that the Turkish domination had been done away with, they had to deal with the Arabs alone. From all the accounts which had reached us they were an exceedingly intelligent race, of whom it was possible to make something. If they looked at the map of Asia and of Africa, they would see what a very important point was that about the Suez Canal, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. They would see how these formed, as it were, the strategic centre of our Empire, from which the routes to India, to Australia, and to East Africa radiate. And from there, from Palestine and Syria, would radiate the new route to India across the desert of Arabia. The lecturer had said a good deal about the route from Damascus to the Euphrates Valley, and he did not know if he could give them any more information about it. If he could it would be most welcome. He was talking to an officer who had recently returned from that part of the world, and who informed him that he did not think that what is marked on our maps as desert is really quite so desert as it is made to appear. He was informed by the officer, though perhaps the lecturer might have more information, that the part between Damascus and Hit on the Euphrates is capable of a great deal more cultivation than it is being put to at the present time. Probably it was more populated in the old days than

it is now. In that case it might be possible to make a railway from Damascus to the Euphrates Valley. A strong railway had already been made from Basra. I think it is a metre gauge railway from Basra to Baghdad.

Colonel A. C. YATE: The latest information, I think, is that the railway stops at Amára and is again recommenced at Kut-el-Amára, the piece in between being linked up by river navigation.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND thought the connection did not get through to Kut, but went up the Euphrates Valley and then across to Baghdad. Then came the question whether, and if so, how, Mesopotamia should be connected with India by rail. The Chairman had said that the railway connection between Arabia and India would possibly pass through North Persia. Perhaps Mesopotamia would like to be linked up with India, and he dared say Sir Percy Sykes would be able to tell them of the possibility of connecting Basra with India through Southern Persia. The last lecture they had in that room described how the Nushki Railway had been extended to the Persian border, and as it did not seem to be anything so very great, it might be possible to construct a railway to connect up the extremity of the Baluchistan Railway with Mesopotamia. Then, of course, came in the question of the use of motor cars. This was exceedingly interesting, and the accounts that were received of the uses to which motor cars had been put afforded ample scope for speculation as to the extent to which they would be utilized in the development of new and hitherto unthought-of routes. It aroused wonder to hear of the way in which officers at Mesopotamia had been engaged in expeditions by motor car from Mesopotamia right up to Baku. Then they had heard of motors being used in the desert. The latest information opened up the prospect of a great revolution in our ideas of transport across the desert. Thus, motors, combined with seaplanes, aeroplanes, and other mechanical contrivances, added greatly to the facilities by which they would be able to survey regions and areas which had hitherto been unexplored, and which might, after being properly reconnoitred, be found adaptable for the construction of railways and other lines of transit. Observers who travelled to and from these regions might be able to open up negotiations and engage in friendly intercourse with the chiefs of the tribes through whose province new lines of communication might be opened. By means of motor cars, seaplanes, aeroplanes, and all the other of the modern mechanical means of transit, he certainly thought that in a very short time we should have through communication between the Mediterranean Sea and India, and that by these means India would be very much more closely connected with Europe than she had been in the past. The whole subject was important from whatever point of view it was considered, and he

hoped that under the auspices of the Society they would have many more illustrated lectures of a kind similar to the one to which they had listened. The subject and the great possibilities it involved ought to be brought more prominently before the public.

Colonel A. C. YATE said he was afraid the country described by the lecturer was one of which he had no personal knowledge. He was thinking that perhaps in view of the importance of the railway route which would lead from Constantinople across Asia Minor and beyond—the well-known route of the Baghdad Railway, which would no doubt, *en passant*, be linked up with the port of Alexandretta—they might consider for a moment the position of Cyprus, which of late had been very much discussed. As they were aware, the Greeks had set their eyes with great affection upon Cyprus. He gathered from a letter he had received from a very well-known member of the Society—he would not mention the writer's name, as the letter was marked "private"—that the question merited more serious attention than it is receiving in this country. Venezélean eloquence, as they learned from the newspapers, was having a very great effect upon the Peace Conference. Personally, he did not himself feel such a very strong sympathy with the claims of the Greeks. He regarded Cyprus as of such importance to this country that he did not think those claims should be conceded. He was sure Disraeli would not have taken it, as he did in the year 1877-78, unless with a special object in view. He had it on the best authority, that of Mr. John Murray, a member of the Society, who told him how Lord Lytton once took him down to the India Office, and there showed him the papers which made it clear how Disraeli intended to use Cyprus. It was to be a *tête-de-pont* for Alexandretta, the Mediterranean end of a railway, which he was said to have projected, and which he was unable to carry out because a Gladstonian Government came into power in 1880. Little Englander Government as it was, it in 1882 started our Egyptian policy, which had proved a decidedly big thing. Under the circumstances he could not but regard Cyprus as being of the very highest importance to this country. The *Near East* weekly bore testimony to the determination of the Greeks to secure Cyprus to themselves, if possible. The population of Cyprus was, doubtless, largely Greek, but they had done and would do extremely well under British administration, and would strengthen our hands as they required to be strengthened in order to carry out the policy which it was no doubt our intention to carry out in accordance with our mandate for the government of Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. There was one curious little thing he wished to relate with reference to Sir Harford Jones, whose name had been mentioned by the lecturer. In 1800, Mr. (as he then was) Harford Jones was Consul-General at Baghdad. The French



Consul-General contemporary with him was a Rousseau, a cousin or nephew of the famous Jean Jacques. It so happened that, when in Cambridge recently, he (Colonel Yate) was examining the stock of a well-known bookseller, who invariably had his stall in the market-place there, and came across four quarto volumes containing *Emile*, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, and other works of Jean Jacques, and found that these had been presented by the French Consul-General of Baghdad, Rousseau, to Mr. Harford Jones in 1800. They bore the signature of the donor and the bookplate of the recipient, and the interest of the "association" persuaded him to become the purchaser of the volumes.

Sir ERIC SWAYNE remarked that one or two points had been raised as to the jealousy of the Arabs generally of interference with their trading routes. Of course they were in former times, as in many respects they continued to be, the greatest traders in the world. The nature of the country which they traversed necessitated their carrying on the trade by caravan. In various parts the tribes were, even to-day, jealous of interference with their prerogative as regards the levying of duties and so on. But he was sure that the Arabs were a reasonable people, and if they were properly handled it would always be possible to arrange with them a composition. With them it was only a question of a figure. Another thing was the matter of protection to the caravans given by the tribes through whose country they passed. This was assured by the individual who represented each tribe. When the Aban, as he was called, was appointed, he technically took control of the whole of the caravan, including the property of all the persons connected with it; it was regarded for the time being as his property. Behind the Aban was the whole of his tribe, and any interference with the caravan was taken up by the tribe, whose members made war against those who were guilty of it. This sometimes led to bloody bouts, which went on alternately year after year, but which the tribes wished to avoid. The caravan and all belonging to it was to the Aban sacred, and thus his power was very great, and he was paid fees. The power of appointing the Abans belonged to the tribes through whose country the caravan passed, and thus when it went into the country of another tribe the Aban was changed, and its full control as well as the responsibility for its safe passage were formally handed over to the new one. In ancient times, he believed, there was a valuable trade carried on in Arabia derived not only from Arabia, but from the Somali coast; the distance, so short across the coast of Aden and the Arabian Sea, would prove no hindrance at all. They also did trade with that horn of Africa which projected into the Indian Ocean next Somaliland. In Somaliland, for instance, there were many features of the same kind of trade as they had in Arabia. There was the coffee which was called

Mocha coffee, because it was brought to Mocha. But subsequently that trade was brought to Aden, and Mocha was left alone. All the caravan routes, so far as coffee was concerned, led to Aden, but the article itself came from various parts, including Amhara, which was one of the outlying states of Abyssinia.

Mr. HARFORD, in the course of a brief reply, said he thought there were portions of territory between Damascus and Baghdad which were by no means an absolute desert. They were less of a desert than many British grouse moors and deer forests. Water could be found by digging down, and that not very deeply. In the rainy season the Arabian deserts could support large flocks of camels or sheep.

The CHAIRMAN said that nothing remained for him to do but to ask the audience to join in a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Harford for his very interesting paper.

## THE BOLSHEVIK AND GERMAN DANGER IN RUSSIA : ITS THREAT TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE

ON the afternoon of Wednesday, April 2, 1919, Mr. E. P. Stebbing, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., gave a lecture on "The Bolshevik and German Danger in Russia : Its Threat to the British Empire" at a meeting of the Central Asian Society held at 22, Albemarle Street, London. In the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., the President, the chair was occupied by Sir Francis Younghusband, and there was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that fortunately members of the Society had with them that afternoon Mr. Stebbing, who was very well known in India as an accomplished officer in the service of the Department of Forests, and who had recently spent a year or two in surveying and studying the possibilities of the very valuable forests of North Russia, and had availed himself of the exceptional opportunities afforded him of studying the Russian people as well as the changes which had taken place in their economic and social condition in recent times. He had pleasure in introducing Mr. Stebbing.

Mr. E. P. STEBBING, who had a very cordial reception, then read his paper, which was in the following terms :

The history of Russia since the Revolution has proved a difficult one to follow even by those who have had at one period or another the opportunity of studying it at first hand on the spot. For those to whom no such chances have offered the significance of the changing scenes in that unfortunate country must have proved enigmatic. And yet it is not open to doubt that the fate of Russia, the future of Russia, both politically and economically, is of immense importance to an Empire such as our own.

I propose to divide my remarks to-day into a brief review, so far as such review is possible at present, of the events during the periods of the Provisional Governments, the Bolshevik and German Government up to the armistice, and the Bolshevik Government since then; to glance at the German aims in Russia and the East; and then

discuss briefly the commercial possibilities of Russia and the necessity of counteracting German influence and penetration.

1. *The Provisional Governments.*—The advent of the Bolshevik as the ruler of Russia came as a shock to the bulk of the Allied public, who had been led to believe that Kerensky had the situation well in hand. But this was the reverse of the case. The first Provisional Government contained men of high ability and promise. But visionaries, coupled with that self-elected Government, the Soldiers' and Workmens' Council, or Soviet, of whom Kerensky long remained a member, swept away the men who might have brought the new Republic safely through the great dangers confronting it. Kerensky took the helm, and from that time dated the rise of the Bolshevik, supported by German propaganda and German gold. The Russian nation in part went to war to shake off the German yoke. The autocracy mismanaged the war and the Revolution took place. The Revolution was not pleasing to the Germans. It was probably the last thing they wanted. But they sat down to turn the altered conditions to their own account. The Allies held aloof from the struggling Republic, pinned their faith on the popular idol who, though burning with patriotic ardour for his country, had no experience of public affairs and proved a weak and vacillating idealist who was from the first swayed and overruled by the Soviet. The Soviet contained able men who, as the months went by, proved that they were capable of learning by experience, and became more moderate in their views. But within the Soviet was a faction, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, who gradually waxed in power. Even the fiasco of the July 1917 rising only acted as a temporary setback to their German-aided schemes. After the dismissal by Kerensky of that patriotic and fine soldier Korniloff there remained no doubt in the minds of many Entente onlookers that the advent of the Bolshevik to power was a certainty. The Provisional Government disappeared on November 8, 1917, and with its disappearance went the last hope of saving Russia from anarchy and appalling disaster.

2. *The Bolshevik and German Régime in Russia up to the Armistice and its Threat to the East and India.*—The Bolsheviks assumed the reins of government in Petrograd with ease. Moscow witnessed some fighting before it was mastered, but within a comparatively short space of time the Soviets held that city, with Kieff, Kharkoff, Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Samara, Saratoff, Kazan, and Rostoff. Lenin and Trotsky had Russia under their heels. The year which followed was full of incident and menace. It witnessed the announcement by Lenin of his policy; the peace treaties between Russia, the Ukraine, and the Central Powers; the peace forced on Roumania; the meeting and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly; the disappearance of the Russian Army and the formation of the Red

Guards; the withdrawal of the Allies from Russia, and, with the disclosure of the growing power and intentions of the Germans, their subsequent return; the formation of new Governments, and the beginnings of armies, in Siberia, North Russia, and elsewhere; the results of the Bolshevik attempts to govern; the inauguration of the Red Terror; and finally the collapse of Germany and her Allies.

We will briefly review these incidents.

Lenin announced his future policy as follows: He said there were three problems before the Russian democracy: (1) The immediate termination of the war, for which his Government would propose an armistice to the belligerents; (2) the handing over of the land to the peasants; and (3) the settlement of the economic crisis.

The moderate wing of the Soviet at once announced that they disapproved of the *coup d'état*, and withdrew from the Soviet. This action raised the hopes of the Entente that Lenin's rule would be a brief one. But events have shown that they had in Lenin to deal with a different type of man to his predecessors, and one who was prepared to act with extreme ruthlessness. The whole course of events in Russia turned upon the manner in which these resolutions were carried out. For the Bolshevik theories when translated to practice were to result in the almost complete subjection of Russia to Germany, in the total financial and economic ruin of the country, and in the institution of the Red Terror. To get rid of the Army was Lenin and Trotsky's first object. To the Army they had promised peace, and the steps by which they fulfilled this promise resulted in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Allies naturally refused to participate in the negotiations, and Trotsky repudiated Russia's foreign debts. The Germans proved too clever for the Bolshevik leaders, and the latter's refusal to put their names to the treaty, whilst declaring the war at an end, resulted in a German advance on the Eastern Front and the exaction of far severer terms. The signature of the treaty did not stay this advance, Germany's object being to seize the northern ports of Murmansk and Archangel and the Siberian Railway; at the former she proposed to set up submarine bases from which to harry the Atlantic shipping; the latter would open to her the rich Siberian granary. A peace had been already signed with Ukraina, and a shameful peace was now forced on Roumania. After the Brest treaty a cloud of German civil emissaries commenced a wide and deep penetration of Russia, with the object of securing concessions and exploiting the country on a large scale as soon as Germany had won the war.

Lenin's other activities were in connection with the land, which he ordered to be partitioned amongst the peasants, and his campaign against the *bourgeoisie* and capitalists and industries. Within a short period he took over the gold reserve of the Banks, broke the power of

the landed classes and *bourgeoisie*, whom he brought to beggary, and reduced to impotency most of the industrial organizations of the country. He instituted a class war on a gigantic scale and brought about a reign of terror throughout the country. Lenin also hoped that the working classes of the Allied and belligerent countries would rise and overthrow their rulers and that the Bolshevik creed would spread throughout the world. At the time these hopes were premature, but to further them the Bolshevik Government sent representatives to the Allied and belligerent nations with secret instructions to spread the Bolshevik propaganda. Lenin's treatment of the Constituent Assembly, that assembly devised by the first Provisional Government, which was to settle the future government of Russia, sharply illustrated the methods by which the Bolsheviks intended to keep in power. The Assembly met once, declared against the Bolshevik régime, and was promptly dissolved by Lenin, a Congress of Soviets being substituted for it.

The Russian Army had to a great extent disappeared before the Germans commenced their advance into Russia, the promise of the partition of the land and the fear that they would not obtain their share luring masses of the peasant soldiery to desert and return to their villages. The notorious highly-paid Red Guard, who were practically given a free hand in their treatment of the *bourgeoisie*, took its place. The formation of this Red Guard was undertaken by Trotsky, who had resigned his position as Commissary for Foreign Affairs to avoid putting his name to the Brest treaty and was appointed Commissary for War. By now, owing to their refusal to join in the Brest treaty and under the influence of German propaganda, the Entente, and especially the British, were being regarded with dislike by an increasing section of Russians, which culminated in an attack by the Bolsheviks on the British Embassy and the murder of the British naval attaché and the imprisonment of Entente representatives and subjects.

Under the Bolshevik régime the dismemberment of Russia soon became a practical reality. Finland, the Ukraine, the Don region, and Siberia, had declared their independence. The Caucasus followed suit, and a Government of the North subsequently came into being. At the end of 1917 the Allies withdrew from the North; the Archangel depôts were broken up, large amounts of stores being left behind, a part of which were subsequently transferred by the Bolsheviks and made over to the Germans. The Embassies removed into Finland and later left Russia. This action produced a deep impression on anti-Bolshevik Russia. They saw themselves deserted by the Allies and left to the mercy of the Bolshevik and German.

For some six months Germany had a free hand in Russia. She extorted a heavy gold indemnity from the Bolsheviks, and economic



concessions which were to bar the Allies from the country for a period of years. Her continued advance became a grave menace to the East. Japan was alarmed at the thought of Germany appearing at Vladivostock, to which end the Austro-German prisoners in Siberia were being formed into striking corps. We ourselves were confronted with the double menace in the North, and in the East the danger to India via Persia. We had killed the Baghdad Railway scheme, but Pan-Germanism, in view of the great offensive on the Western Front commenced in March, 1918, was rampant in Germany, and she was riding roughshod over Eastern Europe and part of North-West Asia. The position had been carefully thought out, and provinces, waterways, spheres of influence, important strategical, economic, and political positions were falling into her hands. She had possession of the Baltic (to Sweden's great alarm) and the Baltic and Western Provinces, proposed to set up her own nominee as King of Finland, and, in spite of the treaty, was in command of the Ukraine. She had occupied Odessa, the great grain mart, and was marching eastwards with the object of disputing with the Turks for Baku and making the Black Sea and Caspian German lakes. Turkey and Persia would be under her thumb, jumping-off places to the domination of Asia. In Germany they were using such phrases as "Berlin-Batum," "Berlin-Bokhara," and "Hamburg-Herat"—ominous phrases for the British Empire. The Allies had as yet taken no steps to stop this victorious career, having their hands very full in the west. But Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, pointed out that with Russia derelict there could be a German penetration from end to end of the country, which would be absolutely disastrous to Russia and certainly would be very injurious to the future of the Allies. The question before the Allies was, How could practical assistance be given?

Before the Allies moved in the south Germany and the Bolsheviks were threatening the Siberian Railway. In the north intervention was forced upon us by the German and Finnish advance on Murmansk and the transference to Germany of our stores from this and the Archangel depôts. We reoccupied Murmansk in February and March and Archangel as soon as the port became ice-free. A Government of the North was proclaimed at Archangel, which worked in unison with the Allies, and Russian recruits joined up with the Allied forces. The Allies marched south and occupied portions of the Murman and Archangel-Vologda Railways and moved up the Dvina River. It was not, however, till August that the full entry of the Allies into a struggle with the Germans and Bolsheviks took place. In the south this entry was the outcome of the extraordinary rise of the Czecho-Slovak troops. These troops had fought on the Russian side till the collapse of the Russian Army, had then been promised a safe conduct to Vladivostock by Trotsky, from whence they were to be shipped to

fight in France. Trotsky went back on his word, with the result that the Czechs rose, seized points in South Russia, and eventually, with the help of the Allies, the whole of the Siberian Railway. A strong mixed force of the Allies landed at Vladivostock, but valuable time was lost before portions of it were sent into Western Siberia. The time so granted enabled Trotsky, with German assistance, to constitute several Bolshevik armies. Some stiff fighting took place, but the Czech parties in the west were relieved to a great extent before the capitulation of Bulgaria and Turkey brought about the collapse of Germany.\*

Considerable trouble was experienced by the Allies with the various competitive Governments set up in Russia in opposition to the Bolsheviks. After some preliminary friction the Government of the North worked smoothly enough, and the Allies strengthened it by stabilizing the rouble at 6d. In Southern Russia and Siberia several opposition Governments arose, and considerable friction resulted amongst the Siberian ones. These were at length amalgamated at a National Congress assembling at Ufa, which was attended by members of the old Constituent Assembly and representatives of the Siberian Governments, and others from the Ural, Orenburg, Astrakhan, etc., and of the various political parties, Cadets, Social Revolutionaries, and so forth. The programme adopted was the re-establishment of Russia's unity and independence, freeing the country from the Bolshevik, and annulment of the Brest treaty.

I need not pause to consider at length the internal condition of Russia as the result of a year's rule of the Bolshevik and German. The Red Terror stalked through the land. No man's person, family, or property was safe unless he purchased immunity by allegiance to the Bolsheviks and worked openly for them. Industry was replaced by anarchy. As a result of the hopeless dislocation in the transport services, the feeding of the population went from bad to worse. Cholera, starvation, violence, and murder were the conditions under which existence was carried on. The Red Terror had completely unnerved the Russian people, and by means of that Terror the Bolshevik leaders, the greater proportion of whom were not Russians, being mostly of Jewish origin and of the *bourgeois* or *petit bourgeois* class, maintained themselves in power.

3. *The Bolshevik Government and German Penetration of Russia since the Armistice.*—Certain clauses of the Armistice agreement with Germany entailed the evacuation of Russian territory, as existing in August, 1914, of all German troops, instructors, prisoners, and

\* A small British force had been sent through Persia to occupy Baku, an extraordinary march which was brought to a successful conclusion. The support given us by the Armenians was insufficient, and after stiff fighting we withdrew, the Turks seizing the place.

civilians, the stoppage of all requisitions and seizures by Germans, and the abandonment of the Treaty of Brest and the supplementary treaties. Some foresaw at the time that the enforcement of these clauses would prove difficult, and events have proved this to be the case. Russia is as much the prey to German penetration at the present moment as at any time previous. With Germany's record and Germany's Eastern ambitions it would be insensate to credit that her big financiers and economists have given up their dream of exploiting Russia.

Affairs in Russia since the armistice have been kaleidoscopic. But they have gone steadily on the downward grade. A great danger to Europe and the world, which had become apparent during the last month or two of the war, was the spread of Bolshevism. Just before she capitulated Germany had dismissed the Bolshevik Ambassador and suite from her country, and other nations soon followed suit. Switzerland had become a hotbed of this pernicious creed.

The collapse of the German, instead of weakening Lenin's power, served to increase it. Perhaps one of the causes, if not the chief cause, lay in the fact that, owing to the vacillation of the Allied policy towards Russia, combined with the Red Terror and the scarcity of food, numbers of officers of the old Russian Army were forced to join the Bolshevik armies in order to save themselves from starvation or to prevent their families from being butchered. And industrial workers and peasants joined for the same reason. The armies are also said to contain a certain number of German effectives. The outcome has been that the new Russian armies and the Allies have found themselves opposed during the winter by Bolshevik forces which have grown in size and organization. They are said to be deficient in artillery and ammunition, however, and it is doubtful whether their cohesion is likely to bear the strain of reverses. In the North the Allies have experienced checks and retirements. But these are probably not of great military importance. In the South the Don Cossacks have had a chequered time. In Western Siberia Admiral Koltchak was eventually elected Dictator, and set himself enthusiastically to reorganize and strengthen the new young Russian armies, who gradually took over the positions held by the Czechs. Intermittent fighting took place during the winter. The Siberian Government assembled at Omsk, where there are details of British forces.

The Allies lost no time in occupying Baku, Odessa, and other Black Sea ports, and in sending naval expeditions into the Baltic; but with the passing months it became obvious that the Allies had as yet no definite policy as regards Russia. The offer of a conference between Allied representatives and members of all the Russian Governments, including the Bolsheviks, on Princes Island, provided the Bolsheviks

ceased fighting, met with no success, and the Bolshevik leaders took advantage of the welter of anarchy supervening to invade the Western and Baltic provinces and later Poland. The policy of drift has resulted in the condition of East Europe becoming chaotic, a condition which Lenin and Trotsky have exploited to their own considerable advantage. Hungary has thrown in her lot with the Bolsheviks, not improbably at the instigation of Germany, and the latter may be preparing or intending to do the same. The Peace Council appear to have realized the great danger threatening Europe. We have to defend Esthonia, Livonia, Poland, and Roumania, and the Czecho-Slovak kingdom against Bolshevik and German designs. The Bolshevik policy and the German policy is to upset the authority of the projected League of Nations and to prevent the Allies and the world reaping the fruits of their victory. Hungary must be brought to heel and Germany kept from joining the Bolsheviks and thus securing a firm grip on Russia. The Allies, in fact, must have a definite Russian policy. The drift policy has resulted in the occupation of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, who are now advancing on Odessa. They have assumed the offensive in the Baltic provinces and Lithuania and are menacing Riga. In the South-east they are exerting heavy pressure on the left wing of Denikin's Cossack Army in the Donetsk coal-basin, and the Allies have had to retire a little in the North. The position is brightest on the Ural front, where Kóltchak's new armies have recently inflicted a severe defeat on the Bolsheviks, captured Ufa, and apparently surrounded their Fifth Army. This success may have far greater consequences than are at present apparent, provided the Allies give the Russian armies, wheresoever fighting, a far greater material support than has yet been the case, and provided a definite line of policy is laid down and adhered to. Bolshevism is a plague-spot in the world, as M. Pichon has recently well said, and its expansion requires to be prevented at all costs. The Bolsheviks do not and never have represented the Russian people. To rid Russia and the world of the Bolshevik danger would not improbably result from the occupation of Petrograd and Moscow. There is said to be a force in Finland within a few miles of Petrograd who would take that place if allowed. With the Northern Government the position is perhaps not so grave, and, with sufficient backing, should be settled in the summer.

4. *The German Aims in Russia and the East.*—During their great offensive on the Western Front last year the Germans left no manner of doubt as to their aims and objects in Russia and the East. Confident that they were giving the knock-out blow to the Allies in the West, the supporters of her Eastern policy gave tongue in no uncertain voice. All the world could understand. She meant to make of Russia's Western Provinces buffer-States under her own tutelage; and she intended to constitute buffer-States from Russia's eastern provinces

and keep Turkey and Persia in vassalage. To those of us who have served in India and the East and have some acquaintance with that fascinating borderland country where Baluchistan marches with the Afghan and Persian frontiers, it is obvious that Germany's success in her designs would have meant a protracted struggle with her for India, an empire she had long coveted. For she had recognized its immense potential economic value to a greater degree than we had ourselves. And she would have exploited it for her own aggrandizement, not in the interests of its peoples. These were her military and political aims. But even more important in her eyes, I believe, were her economic ones. A perusal of German journals and of articles from the pens of her leading financiers and economists, published during her great successful offensive of last year, proved most instructive. There was no doubt about their point of view. They were in haste to concede to the military party the strategic frontiers they asked for and so have done with them. Their clear vision was fixed upon the enormous potential wealth of Russia and of the countries beyond. Rich concessions were to be their share of the booty, the working of which would pave the way to a future domination of the East and the shattering of the British Empire. Is not this a true statement of the case? It is no new one. It was a magnificent dream, that dream of the German imperialists. The methods by which they sought to give it practical reality were medieval. But they came near to success. She had Russia in her grip. Indemnities and concessions had been extorted from her. Germany would have cried quits on the Western Front to have been allowed to keep that which she had won in the East. For with that she would rapidly have grown wealthy again and powerful enough to make another bid for Eastern domination. She came so near success: Has her defeat removed this danger for good? Have her great financiers and economists given up their dreams for all time? The disappearance of the Kaiser and the military caste, if the latter have really gone, is unlikely to put an end to these ambitions. Why should they? Might has failed and diplomacy has failed. But peaceful penetration remains. Russia is full of German agents and business men at the present moment, carrying on business so far as possible and endeavouring to obtain valuable concessions from the Bolsheviks. Scarce a month ago a prominent Bolshevik leader was being pestered by Germans to be given forestry and mining concessions in Kostroma and Olenetz. The Germans were prepared to accept a modest five per cent. profit so long as Germany was allowed to buy the minerals and timber for home use at world market prices! When the Bolsheviks captured Kharkoff from the Ukrainians, numbers of active Germans were discovered armed with maps and estimates and busily engaged in mapping out South Russia for exploitation. The Urals also are being overrun with German

prospectors, armed with permits from the Bolsheviks. This being the position, how do we propose to deal with it?

5. *The Commercial Possibilities of Russia and the Steps to counter-act German Influence and Penetration.*—We will first briefly glance at the commercial possibilities of Russia.

European Russia may be regarded as a great plain, bounded by the Scandinavian, Carpathian, Caucasian, and Uralian mountain systems, with direct access to the open sea in the North only, and then during the summer months, with the exception of the ice-free port of Murmansk. Vladivostock is the Far Eastern outlet. In this vast country the rivers have played the most important part in transportation, the Volga being one of the chief. Railways are necessary to exploit the great mineral wealth of the mountainous regions. It is the want of railways which has kept back development. In this great tract there is a great diversity in climate, soil, and zones of vegetation. From the north there is a wide extension of glacial drift in a south-east direction, followed by the wide belt of fertile black soil in South Russia stretching eastwards beyond Lake Baikal. Towards the north there is the great forest belt, the largest in the world, passing in a southerly direction through rye and flax lands to the wheat-growing areas and vine plantations. Historical development has concentrated the industries to the Moscow region, the Ural mining region, the Donetz coal-basin, and so forth.

Roughly speaking, it is possible to divide European Russia commercially into eleven regions and Siberia into two as follows: (1) The northern forestal region; (2) the Petrograd region of the north-west, where agriculture and forestry form the chief industries; (3) the Moscow industrial region; (4) the central corn-growing region; (5) the Ural mining region; (6) the south-east cattle-breeding and fishing region; (7) the Caucasus, with its steppe districts devoted to agriculture, its mineral wealth, and forests; (8) the southern corn-growing region; (9) the southern mining region, including the Donetz coal-basin; (10) the south-west agricultural region, especially devoted to cereals and beet; (11) the Poliessky region, forming the western extremity of the forest region. In Siberia (12), the Western plains, especially devoted to agriculture and allied industries; (13) the Eastern plateaux region with valuable resources; with a forest belt in each.

From the British point of view the following centres may roughly be regarded as serving these areas: Archangel, Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Samara, Kharkoff, Rostoff, Odessa, Baku, Omsk, and Vladivostock. From each of these centres any part of Russia could be reached from the particular centre in twelve hours. Now this is of considerable importance. Germany's superiority in commercial activity in Russia in the past was in part due to her fortunate



geographical position. She ran a good service of fast trains and had a highly organized system of travellers. She was thus able to attend any call or customer at short notice. Britain had a longer route and was therefore at a disadvantage. We should require to set up show-rooms and so forth at the above-mentioned centres. Our travellers in the past were very far from being the equal of the Germans. Moreover, British merchants had not awakened to the great value of the Russian markets and of her unexploited natural resources.

I regret that time will not permit me to discuss these areas at greater length. But their existence and potential value has been indicated.

Now what steps can we take to prevent the German from maintaining his hold on Russia and exploiting her? It will not prove easy. Whatever the terms dictated to Germany at the Peace Table, it will not in all probability prove possible to bind her in any effective manner which would bar her from Russia. Nor would the Russians probably wish her to be barred out for trading purposes; though she would wish Germany to be kept from exploiting her, and so once again growing rich at the expense of Russian industries, Russian agriculture, and Russian development. The one safe road to bar out Germany would appear to be that the Allies should determine to support the true Russians and the new Russian armies in their efforts to re-establish public order and the rights of the individual by getting rid of the Bolshevik; and then in giving assistance in re-establishing her finances. Both the first and the second are of importance to the British Empire. A strong, friendly Russia is a necessity; and for the second we have large outstanding loans to her. It would be as well in my view to treat German ambitions and designs in Russia as a still living force. A Russia extricated from her present appalling position by the Allies would be more ready to turn to her saviours than to the enemy who showed so clearly in the Brest treatment and his subsequent treatment his real intentions towards Russia. But to render this solution possible the Russians themselves will have to make up their minds to set their faces against any further German exploitation. And the Allied Consuls, their merchants and travellers, will have to adopt methods more in sympathy with Russian requirements and customs, and work more on the German lines than those, our own for instance, followed in the past.

The example of Hungary and the danger of Germany joining openly with the Bolsheviks in Russia may have shown the Peace Council the danger of any further procrastination in this Russian Bolshevik matter. The solution of the Russian situation, the first step anyway, is to get rid of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik group who are now maintaining themselves in power solely through the Reign of Terror. A firm policy on the part of the Allies, a stout

## 130 THE BOLSHEVIK AND GERMAN DANGER IN RUSSIA

backing of the Russian armies in the field, and the occupation of Petrograd and Moscow would, so far as can be judged, dispose of the Bolsheviks.

The rehabilitation of Russian finances and the re-establishment of order and the restarting of her industries will prove a difficult business.

Russia's two chief resources with which to make a start are her timber and grain. With the disorganization existing amongst the peasantry and the large areas remaining untilled the grain export trade will take a few years to re-establish. There remains her one realizable and valuable asset, the great wealth of timber in the northern regions, the Caucasus and Black Sea littoral, and the Amur region in the Far East. It is in the North that I see the first way out. We are supporting the Northern Government, to whom we have given recognition and stabilized the rouble. The Allied and Russian forces have suffered a check or two during the past winter, but probably nothing serious. When the weather reopens and navigation on the rivers becomes practicable it should prove possible to sufficiently reinforce the Allied troops and sweep away the Bolshevik forces in this region. We require to secure the River Dvina up to Kotlas and the tributaries beyond, and to hold the railway from Kotlas to Viatka and the northern halves at least of the Archangel-Petrograd and the Murmansk-Petrograd Railways. These are the chief arteries of this great, sparsely populated, densely forested region. The Northern Government would then be in command of the area, and, moreover, would be in a position to establish communication with the Russian forces in the Urals.

Having obtained control of this region, the Northern Government, with the assistance of the Allied Powers, could commence to provide work for the population within its charge by taking steps to exploit the immense virgin forests in this region. The population is scanty, but labour would soon flow in once it was understood that food and a livelihood were procurable in the north. This northern region would quickly settle down, for it should not prove difficult to hold the main lines of communication, and it may be surmised that the example so set would not be without its effect on the population to the south, and would ultimately immensely facilitate the re-establishment of order in the country and the return of the workers to sanity.

It appears to me, with the knowledge I possess of this northern region, that this suggestion might prove to be a first step in the direction in the re-establishment of what all must ardently desire to see—the reinstatement of Russia in her place amongst the nations.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the discussion, said it was a cause for deep regret that the Chairman of the Council of the Society, Lord Carnock, was not able, owing to ill-health, to be present that evening,

because he had at one time held the distinguished and most responsible post of British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. If his lordship had been able to be present he would doubtless have given them some very valuable enlightenment upon the present position in Russia. Of course, as members of the Central Asian Society, they were chiefly concerned with the position of Russia in so far as it related to our interests in India; and in this connection he regarded the point brought out by the lecturer in his observations as a very important one, that the Germans had been more wary and alive to the great economic potentialities of India than perhaps we ourselves had been. Anyone who had lived in India for the past twenty or thirty years was fully conscious of the way in which the Germans had increased and strengthened their commercial position in India. Up to the outbreak of the war their traders had invaded the country in ever-increasing numbers and had established very big business houses. They had indeed been keenly alive to the great economic potentialities of our great Indian Empire. His own idea was that the ultimate aim of the Germans in starting the war was the conquest of India. They all knew of or had heard about the Berlin-Baghdad Railway and what it was intended by the Germans to accomplish. He did not think it was intended to go to Mesopotamia alone. Mesopotamia was a very valuable country. There was no doubt about that, but in planning and constructing that railway the Germans had the conquest of India as their ultimate aim and object. They regarded the country as having a future of the very highest potentialities. Balked by our expedition to Mesopotamia of their route to India by the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, he thought the Germans then devoted more of their attention to the way to India through Russia and Persia, as the lecturer had pointed out. Personally he regarded it as one of the most disquieting pieces of information which the lecturer had given them that Russia is more accessible to German penetration now, after the armistice, than she was before. That was a valuable point to which, he thought, we should pay the greatest attention, because if it means that Germany is to gradually penetrate and absorb Russia, and work her way down to India in the way suggested, then we should have to be more on the lookout for danger to India from that direction than ever we had been during the last century. As to the means which the lecturer suggested for counteracting that danger, the Chairman thought that that gentleman would find himself supported by our last Ambassador in Russia (Sir George Buchanan). Indeed, as they would have observed from the report of an address which he delivered at Edinburgh about a week previous, Sir George had given expression to the very thing which the lecturer had uttered that evening, that it is essential that our Allies should support the friendly and well-disposed portion of the

Russian population and first occupy Petrograd and Moscow.\* So far as he could recollect, Sir George Buchanan expressed the conviction that if Petrograd and Moscow could be occupied Bolshevism would break up, because, as the lecturer had said, the Bolshevik leaders were not really the elected representatives of the Russian people. As they had been reminded, these leaders shouted down the Constituent Assembly elected by the Russian people. These were the only observations he himself had to make, but he desired to direct particular attention to the lecturer's points in view of the fact that fortunately they had present with them Sir George Macartney, who, for many years, had occupied the position of Consul-General in Turkistan and Russia, and who had returned, within the last few months, from a visit to Tashkent, where, they might feel sure, he must have heard something of the movements of the Bolsheviks in Central Asia.

Sir GEORGE MACARTNEY said he had listened with extreme interest to Mr. Stebbing's discourse, and desired to thank him for having focussed upon their attention some of the elements in a problem which at this time must be engrossing the attention not only of England, but of the world at large. He was afraid he was no authority on Russian affairs. He had lived for a long time, not in Russia, but in China, and the only opportunity he had of seeing Russia was during short journeys made backwards and forwards between London and his own station at Kashgar, so all he had seen of Russia was from the interior of railway-stations. But even a cursory glance at a country made one think about it. He had often wondered how it was, in times past, say twenty or thirty years ago, when the rivalry between England and Russia was acute, that Russia loomed so large on our horizon; what the secret of her power was, or the secret of her apparent power. He had come across many Russians of the middle classes, well-educated people; and the impression they gave—he was referring to those who were Russians by race, not to those who were cosmopolitans—was that they were amiable in disposition, perhaps somewhat emotional—in fact, that they were a people to whom an appeal could be made more through the heart than the head. They never appeared to him to be a people made of the stuff that went to the making of an aggressive race. How was it, then, that Russia appeared to us so formidable? He had often thought, though he might be mistaken, that even twenty or thirty

\* Sir George Buchanan and Mr. E. D. Stebbing arrived at this conclusion, identical as it is, independently. In fact, Mr. Stebbing's lecture was written before Sir George spoke. That they should both hold this view adds to its value. Indeed, if we now (August, 1919) study the news from the Baltic region, we see that this very view and plan are now being steadily worked out.—A. C. Y., August, 21, 1919.

years ago the Russian was not master in his own house. Germany was on the border of Russia, and long before this war, for the last half-century at least, there had been a constant stream of emigration from Germany into Russia. Some of the Germans who went to Russia settled there, keeping themselves aloof from the native population, retaining their own *Kultur*, their own traditions, their own language. But others penetrated into the country in a more insidious way. They allied themselves with the Russians and after a while became, as it were, "Russified." But in the process they also "Germanized" a small section of the Russian people. It was a question worth asking: To what extent, in the past, the members of the Russian Diplomatic Body and to what extent the officers of the Russian Army had been drawn from this Germanized section of the Russian people; and to what extent our difficulties with Russia, in former years, had been created by Russified Germans. Bolshevism might last for a time—it would run its course. But in time Russia would come into her own as an orderly State. Those German elements which had already been infused into the Russian race would always remain there. In order to counteract their baneful influence it behoved us all the more to gain the goodwill of that large section of the population which is not cosmopolitan, but Russian by race.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that Mr. Moon, who had been in Russia for some years, might perhaps very kindly offer a few observations.

Mr. MOON stated that he had been in Russia but never for a long time continuously. The observations made by Sir George Macartney led him to point out that perhaps a great many English people were not aware how little the Russian people were polyglottic. Though the noble frequently had an English trainer, a French tutor, a German nurse, and various other alien members in his household in order that his family might learn all kinds of languages, he had found, in the course of his expeditions through Russia, that German was the language which was most useful in hotels out of Moscow and Petrograd, and also for business purposes. As a matter of fact it was very well known in this country, as well as in other parts of the world, that German influence had, from time to time, been very predominant in Russia, even in the last century. One remembered a speech delivered by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace at a gathering of the Society held in that very room some months ago. In his book on Russia he related an incident which very aptly illustrated the extent to which this influence prevailed. It was the story of a Russian General who, when asked by his sovereign what he could do to help him, replied, "Please make me a German." Dealing with the points mentioned by Mr. Stebbing at the conclusion of his paper, Mr. Moon said he regarded that gentleman's suggestion about developing and making use of the timber in Northern Russia as a

particularly useful one. He presumed that though perhaps in theory the peasants might like to appropriate the interminable taigas (forest) through which one passed day after day in travelling on the Siberian Railway, they would not object to the timber being utilized so long as they were allowed to retain their agricultural holdings. At least it was his impression that so long as they were left in the undisputed and undisturbed possession of the agricultural holdings which they had unjustly appropriated, they would not offer any objection to the development and merchenting of the timber of the enormous forests in the North. He could not quite recollect for how many months in the year Petrograd was an open port, but he supposed it was so for at least six months. Seeing that Petrograd and the most northerly of the Russian ports could be kept open for the purpose of export for that period, he regarded the idea of starting Russia in the path of economic progress at this time by the development of her timber resources as a very valuable one. Of course he understood that buffer-States between Germany and Russia were going to be created. If the Peace Conference carried out its intentions in this direction Germany would be divided from Russia and the Polish States in the North as well as in the South. As Mr. Stebbing had remarked, Bolshevism was so kaleidoscopic in its character and changed so much in its aspects from day to day that he would be a very wise man who could forecast what developments might arise in connection with it even in a month's time.

Dr. POLLEN expressed the opinion that the reason why we had not got on with the Russians lay in our complete ignorance of their language. Indeed, it seemed as if we would not take the trouble to learn the language so that we could place and keep ourselves in touch with the Russian people and that they should know us better. At the Foreign Office on the previous day he met a gentleman who, turning round and addressing everybody in particular and nobody in general, said, "How is it possible for any good to result from sending to Russia officers who are entirely ignorant of the country, its people, and its language, and from turning away men who are anxious to go who know the country, its people, and its language—men who are capable of rendering the best possible service to this country by telling the Russians the plain facts regarding our attitude towards them?" These were the actual words which the gentleman uttered in a loud voice on the steps of the Foreign Office. Mr. Fisher, our great educational authority, declared the other day that if two hundred Englishmen could have been selected who were capable of conveying to the Russians in their own language, and in a way which they could understand, the real aims and objects of the great English people, we should not be in the terrible position in which we find ourselves to-day with regard to Russia. With a better knowledge of



the Russian language on the part of those who are representing us in the country, it would have been perfectly possible to have communicated direct to the people of Russia the feelings we entertain with regard to them. And until we learn the Russian language and adopt some means for understanding the Russian people he did not think there was much chance of our ever being able to destroy the baneful German influence in Russia. Anybody who knew or read anything regarding Russia must be aware how the country had been, and is even now, contaminated by the Germans. He had pointed out the fact thirty years ago. Since the name of Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace had been mentioned, he might also add that forty years ago that gentleman told them the truth regarding German influence in Russia. But when did we ever listen to a truth when it interfered with our present comfort and enjoyment? What was most needed was a knowledge of the Russian language. With that we would be able to better understand the Russian people, and be able to teach them that we have nothing but the most friendly feelings towards them. As we got to know them and they got to know us better, German influence in Russia could easily be ousted. We could get to the hearts of the Russian people if we had the proper and more effective facilities for getting into closer touch with them through more intimate international communication.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that certainly in India Dr. Pollen's suggestion was being acted upon. He agreed with that gentleman that good would follow the adoption of the same idea in this country. The Indian Government encouraged the study of the Russian language, and Dr. Pollen himself was a shining example of the results of this policy. The Chairman then suggested that they should return to Mr. Stebbing a most cordial vote of thanks for his very valuable paper, which, they would all agree, would be of the greatest use to the Society.

Mr. STEBBING, in thanking the meeting for the cordial way in which the proposal of thanks to himself had been received, and for the careful attention which had been given to his paper, remarked that there were two points which arose in the discussion which struck him as meriting special comment. The first one, raised by the Chairman, had reference to German penetration in India and German influence in exploiting India's economic resources. An incident which illustrated this in a very marked degree was brought to his attention quite recently. The Germans discovered that in the Native State of Travancore there was a yellow sand, known as monazite sand, which possessed certain valuable properties of which we had previously known nothing. A little British company was started to develop the potentialities of this discovery, but later on it was bought out by the Germans, with the result that practically the entire output of the

monazite sand of India was shipped to Germany. The war had brought to light the fact that from the sand certain substances could be extracted, such as thoria, ceria, didymium, and other rare earths used in the manufacture of incandescent mantles, carbons for search-lights (required for our battleships, etc.), and a variety of other materials of first-class importance to the industries of a nation in war and peace. It was the Germans who first discovered the value of and utilized this valuable sand. That was one point illustrative of Germany's exploitation of the resources of India. The other matter on which he desired to make a brief observation was the exploitation of the timber resources of the northern forests of Russia. His idea was that now the Northern Government of Russia was recognized by the Peace Conference the Bolsheviks would ultimately be swept out of that area. Eighty-five per cent. of the country consisted of forests, the agricultural parts, to which the population was principally limited, being confined to narrow ribbons about five miles or so broad fringing the rivers. In the forests themselves the population was very sparse. In the winter-time the scanty agricultural portion of the population, supplanted by outside labour, worked at felling the trees and hauling the logs to the river-banks, where they were formed into great rafts and towed down the river by tugs to the ports. In this connection the timber-exporting ports of the future would probably be the northern ones of Archangel and Kola, the Obi and Yenesei, although, of course, Petrograd would also be of value as a centre of export. The Provisional Government, the last responsible Government of Russia, in 1917 devoted some attention to working out the forestry problems, and their idea was that the Baltic would cease to be a great exporting centre so far as Russia was concerned, because, they said, "We want the remaining forests left for our own people for reconstruction." Sixteen million, probably twenty million, acres of forest in the Western Provinces had been wiped out. They might therefore take it as a certainty that when again there is a responsible Government in Russia, those great northern forests would receive special attention in connection with reconstruction and with the development of the resources of the country. The timber would be exported from Archangel, as the headquarters of the trade, and from Murmansk; and also from the Obi and Yenesei in Siberia. The Northern Government in Russia wished to get rid of the Bolsheviks in that area as soon as possible, and with that main obstacle overcome they would be able to start work on an enterprise which was unlimited in its possibilities. When it was properly organized, labour would be attracted from the South, for by working in the forests the people would soon find that they could get food and a good livelihood.

The proceedings then concluded.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 11, 1919, when there was a large attendance of members and friends. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., Chairman of Council, presided.

### THE ANNUAL REPORT.

The CHAIRMAN having remarked that this was the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, called upon Colonel A. C. Yate to read the report for the past year.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel Yate) then read the Annual Report, which was in the following terms:

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1918-19.

At the Anniversary Meeting held on June 26, 1918, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich expressed from the Chair a sincere hope that Colonel Sir Henry Trotter would, at the commencement of the 1918-19 session, be able to resume his duties as Chairman of the Council. That hope, which all members of the Society shared, has not been realized. Sir Henry's influence upon the Society as member, lecturer, councillor, and finally Chairman of Council, extended over a period of twelve years, and his loss is most sincerely regretted. On receipt of his resignation of the Chairmanship of the Council, it was offered to, and accepted by, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Shortly after the last Anniversary Meeting Sir Edward Penton, finding that his work for Government left him no leisure, resigned the Hon. Secretaryship. Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate was elected to succeed him.

During the session which is concluded to-day the following lectures have been delivered:

October 9, 1918.—“Life in Russian Turkestan, and Germany's Menace to India,” by Miss Annette Meakin.

November 13, 1918.—“Siberia,” by Colonel Harold Swayne.

November 23, 1918.—“Adventures with Armoured Cars in Russia and the East,” by Commander O. Locker-Lampson, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O.

December 10, 1918.—“China,” by Mr. J. O. P. Bland.

January 29, 1919.—“The Past History of Anatolia: a Mirror of the Future,” by Professor Sir W. M. Ramsay.

February 12, 1919.—“The Nushki Railway and Some of the Problems on which it Bears,” by Colonel F. Webb Ware, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.

March 12, 1919.—“An Old Route to India,” by Mr. F. D. Harford, C.V.O.

April 2, 1919.—“The Bolshevik and German Danger in Russia: its Threat to the British Empire,” by Mr. E. P. Stebbing.

May 7, 1919.—“The Caucasus Front and Western Persia,” by Lieut.-Colonel G. F. S. Napier.

June 11, 1919.—“Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918,” by Sir George Macartney.

One is perhaps apt to listen to lectures of this calibre, illustrated by excellent lantern slides, covering a wide field of travel, experience, research, and knowledge, and not infrequently involving exposure to hardship and danger to life, without sufficiently realizing how representative these lectures are of that spirit of adventure which has gone, and still goes, far to mould the destinies of the British Empire. We do not yet, I think, know all that Commander Locker-Lampson's armoured-car work in Russia meant, and we may remember that he kindly hinted that we might hear more, if we chose. Mr. Bland's lecture led to General Sir Edmund Barrow's strong pronouncement on the Peking astronomical instruments, and to their subsequent return by Potsdam to Peking. Sir W. M. Ramsay gave us a most scholarly dissertation on the Trans-Continental routes that linked Greece and Italy with Central Asia and the Far East, and incidentally touched upon the grain of salt with which Greek statistics of Greek population should be taken. At the moment when Siberia was pressing forward to crush Bolshevism, Colonel Swayne's description of Siberia was most opportune, and Miss Annette Meakin pictured Russian Turkestan at the time when the Bolshevism of which Sir George Macartney will speak to-day was unknown. The Nushki Railway, which Colonel Webb Ware made the theme of his address, has not only helped to stem the tide of Bolshevism at Tashkent, but, if the Amir Amam-ulla Khan persists in his presumptuous menace to India, enables us to retaliate even against the outlying western provinces of his kingdom. The caravan routes that linked East and West, the undeveloped forest resources of Northern Russia, and the development of Persia—the subjects respectively handled by Mr. Harford, Mr. Stebbing, and Colonel Napier—are themes which have opened our eyes to much of which we knew little or nothing before. The lectures were all well attended, and the discussions, notably on the lectures of Mr. Bland and Colonel Webb Ware, contained excellent matter supplementary to the lecture.

Some of the papers have already been published in our Journal, and others will appear in the next number.

The membership of the Society has appreciably increased, though not as much as is to be desired. My belief, based on experience, is that the existence of the Society is not known. It remains to make it known and, on principle, to recruit for it. The following thirty new members have been elected:

Mrs. M. M. Banks.  
Sir Maurice de Bunsen.  
Lord Carnock.  
Mr. R. MacLeod Campbell.  
Mrs. Collis.  
Mr. R. W. Frazer.  
Mrs. R. W. Frazer.  
Mr. C. C. Garbett, I.C.S.  
Miss Christie.  
Mr. F. D. Harford, C.V.O.  
Mr. H. Peters Bone.  
Mrs. Gaulter.  
Captain I. C. FitzHugh, D.S.O.,  
M.V.O.  
Lieut. J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy,  
F.R.G.S.  
Major W. W. Vauckers.

Mrs. Hunter.  
The Political Agent, Kuwait.  
Mr. F. B. Patel.  
Mr. Ikbāl Ali Shah.  
Mr. A. B. Bayley Worthington.  
Mrs. Henry Young.  
Mr. Oliver R. Coales.  
Mrs. Gaulter.  
Captain Teague Jones, R.E.  
Mr. C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S.  
Mr. H. S. I. B. Philby, I.C.S.,  
F.R.G.S.  
Mr. H. G. Bateman, F.R.G.S.  
Mr. Bassett Digby, F.R.G.S.  
Mr. Patrick Alexander, F.R.G.S.  
Major H. Hay Thorburn, C.I.E.,  
I.M.S.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of Mr. Wilson Crewdson, Colonel F. M. Fancourt, General Sir James Hill Johnes, Colonel R. H. Jennings, and Mr. W. J. C. Laurie. The Society has also lost by resignation the two following members: Sir Walter Lawrence and Captain Tryon.

Our expenditure this year, owing to the much increased cost of printing, exceeded our receipts by about £20. The statement of accounts is appended.

The recommendations of the Council to fill vacancies on the Council for 1919-20 are as follows: Under Rule 13, Lord Lamington and Sir Francis Younghusband retire; the Council recommend the election of Sir Evan James and Sir Frederic Fryer in their place. Under Rule 13a, the Hon. Treasurer retires, and the Council recommend the election of Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward. Under Rule 23, Colonel Kelly retires, and there being also two vacancies, the Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Penton, Colonel C. E. Yate, and Sir Francis Younghusband.

A. C. YATE, Lieut.-Colonel,

*Hon. Sec., Central Asian Society.*

The CHAIRMAN said that, having heard the report read, he would invite any observations anyone would wish to make or any questions members might wish to put to the Council. As nobody seemed inclined to do so, he would say that, though the Society was no doubt in a very flourishing condition relatively, they would like to increase the number of members as far as was possible. The Council had taken certain measures, through the kindness of the Geographical Society and also the Royal Asiatic Society, to circulate leaflets explaining the aims and objects of the Society in the hope that people who read them would become members. At the same time, he did think it would assist very materially in that direction if each individual member would try, from amongst their own friends and acquaintances, to beat up as many recruits as they could. If they could by these and other means appreciably increase the number of members, they should certainly feel that the financial position of the Society was thoroughly sound and satisfactory. Certain leaflets could be obtained which he ventured to suggest members would kindly circulate amongst those with whom they came in personal contact.

The Annual Report was then adopted.

The CHAIRMAN said that the next item on the agenda for the General Meeting was the election of Members of the Council for the coming session. The retiring members were Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward, Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, and Colonel J. G. Kelly, and it was proposed that Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis E. Younghusband, Sir Edward Penton, and Colonel C. E. Yate, M.P., should be ordinary Members of the Council.

The meeting agreed to the election of the gentlemen named to the vacancies on the Council.

The CHAIRMAN stated that it had been suggested that as Vice-Presidents Sir Evan James and Sir Frederic Fryer should take the places of Lord Lamington and Sir Francis Younghusband. Was the meeting agreeable to this?

The election of Sir Evan James and Sir Frederick Fryer as Vice-Presidents was then formally agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN explained that Sir Evan James had unfortunately had to resign the office of Hon. Treasurership, and it was suggested that Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward should take his place.

The election of Brigadier-General Bailward was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said that, having disposed of the routine business, they now came to the more interesting part of the meeting—the paper which Sir George Macartney had kindly undertaken to read on “Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918.” His Lordship did not think it was necessary for him to formally introduce Sir George Macartney to them, as his name and services must be well known to every member of the Central Asian Society, but he thought he



should not be exaggerating if he said that few could have a more intimate knowledge of Central Asian politics than that possessed by Sir George Macartney. Personally, he was glad that his lecture was to be on Bolshevism in Central Asia, because, though the public press gave them fairly full information as to Bolshevism activity in Russia, and, he dared say, those who had perused the papers issued by the Foreign Office or had had opportunities of conversing with people who had recently escaped from Russia might indeed form an accurate opinion of what was taking place, or had taken place, in that unfortunate country, their information in regard to the districts in which Sir George Macartney had served in an official capacity was scanty and very vague. They did not know anything as to the form Bolshevism had assumed, or the extent to which it had developed in these districts. They were, therefore, particularly fortunate in having an opportunity afforded them that afternoon of hearing first-hand evidence as to Bolshevik activity in Central Asia, and they would listen with special interest to the paper which he would now ask Sir George Macartney to read to them.

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*It has been deemed desirable, and this in compliance with Sir George Macartney's wish, not to publish at present his lecture entitled "Bolshevism as I saw it, at Tashkent in 1918." It will be published, it is hoped, in the Journal for 1920.*

## Appendix I.: THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

By LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE

(Hon. Secretary, Central Asian Society).

STUDENTS of history are well aware of the obscurity which veils the origin of many institutions which have made their mark in the world. It occurs to me, therefore, to record here briefly the circumstances which gave birth to the Central Asian Society; and it is to Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Edward Penton that I am indebted in the first instance for the information upon which this exordium is based. For, although I was an original member of the Society, it was not till 1905 that I left India for good. When we consider what the term "Central Asian Question" meant in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we may wonder that it was not until the twentieth century, when the "Middle East" was already dawning, that the Central Asian Society began its corporate existence. "The fact that there was no suitable association for the discussion of the political aspects of Central Asian problems" had for some years been fermenting in the mind of Major (as he then was) F. E. Younghusband. Towards the end of 1900 it came to his knowledge that Dr. Cotterell Tupp, late of the Indian Civil Service, likewise entertained the idea of founding a society for the study not only of geographical, economic, social, and scientific, but also of political questions affecting the territories situated between Eastern Europe and India. A meeting took place between Major Younghusband and Dr. Tupp—a meeting at which Colonels Sir T. H. Holdich and Algernon Durand were present. It was then decided to form a society and to approach the Royal Asiatic Society for the favour of the use of their rooms.

The first meeting took place in those rooms on December 13, 1901, when General Sir T. E. Gordon presided, and was elected President for the ensuing year, Major Younghusband being Hon. Secretary, and Dr. Tupp Hon. Treasurer. Among the Members of Council then appointed I find Major-General Sir Edwin Collen and Sir Evan James. It was decided to hold the meetings on the first Wednesday in each month of the lecture season (October to June) at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, and on January 15, 1902, the first lecture was given by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch on "The Persian Gulf." Major

Younghusband being then unexpectedly ordered back to India was succeeded as Hon. Secretary by Mr. Edward Penton, who continued to fill that office until the beginning of the late war. From 1914 to 1918 the Central Asian secretariat was in the able hands of Miss Hughes, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. In a leaflet dated May 28, 1903, Mr. Penton placed on record the eleven lectures delivered before the Society in the first seventeen months of existence, among the lecturers being General Sir T. E. Gordon, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, Mrs. Archibald Little, Lord Ronaldshay, Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, and Mr. (now Sir) George Macartney, on subjects ranging from Persia to the Pacific. My collected copy of the Society's publications starts with the papers read during the session of 1903-04. I find no record of the publication of the lectures of the period January, 1902, to May, 1903. Probably the Society's funds did not, so early in its career, admit of expenditure for printing. In November, 1901, the Society numbered thirteen members, in January, 1902, thirty, and in May, 1903, ninety-seven. The publication of the journal then commenced, and the expense was then more easily met with ninety-seven members than it is under post-war conditions with about 140.

From 1903 onward to the present time the Society, with a membership gradually on the increase, has steadily pursued the aims for which it was founded. The evidence of that is to be sought in the personality of the lecturers themselves, and in the public importance of the subject-matter of the papers read, and of the discussions that ensued. At this moment it will not be out of place to review those papers and discussions in their relation to the incidents of the late war and the situation of the present hour. When Sir Valentine Chirol in 1906 addressed the Society on "Pan-Islamism," Abdul Hamid was still seated on the Ottoman throne, and yet even then we find M. de Wesselitsky, while disclaiming for the Moslems of Russia any Pan-Islamic tendency, and not even hinting at "Pan-Turanianism," remarking that "there is a literary Pan-Turkism, an attempt to create a literary language for all the Musulmans of Russia of Turco-Tartar race common to them with the Turks of the Ottoman Empire," and "it seems to me that Pan-Islamism might become a very real danger if Musulmans felt themselves unfairly treated by Christians." In this war we have seen Islam go through this ordeal, and, as the outcome thereof, to use Lindsay Gordon's phrase, "two things stand like stone," one that Islam has rallied to the British Empire, and the other that, while Sunni Turkey fell foul of its professed best friend, Germany, over the Black Sea fleet and the Caucasus, Shi'a Persia, after coquetting and intriguing more or less all round, is now posing pretentiously before the Peace Conference in Paris. When in January, 1912, Professor

Margoliouth lectured on this self-same topic, viz., "Pan-Islamism," he showed clearly that the Young Turks entertained ideas of Pan-Islamic propaganda, and argued that it was under European protection that "the most favourable conditions possible existed for the propagation of Islam." At both these lectures the Central Asian Society had the good fortune to listen to the views on this subject of Mr. Ameer Ali, always an impressive and attractive speaker, views which have very recently led to friendly, but none the less definite differences of opinion between him and Sir V. Chirol. If Professor Margoliouth is right, then the Memorandum addressed by H.H. the Aga Khan, the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, and others, quoted in *The Times* of March 25, and sympathetically if critically commented on in *The Near East* of March 27, misses its mark.

Not unnaturally, Persia has figured largely in the lecture list of the Society. In the first twelve years of its existence "Persia" was the theme which inspired the pen of no less than fifteen lecturers, among whom may be mentioned Lords Lamington and Ronaldshay, Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, Professor E. G. Browne, Mr. Lovat Fraser, General Sir T. E. Gordon, and Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. The importance of the subject seems also to justify a mention of the lecture given by me in February, 1911, on "The Proposed Trans-Persian Railway." When preparing that paper I had a conversation with M. Timiriazeff, President of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, and towards the close of 1911 I attended a very interesting gathering at Paris of Russian and French promoters of that railway. Subsequent writers on this and cognate topics, such as Mr. Evans Lewin and M. G. Demorgny, both of whose books appeared in 1916, refer to this lecture as still the recognized authority. Personally, when I reawaken my reminiscences of the whole affair, I am devoutly thankful that the Anglo-Franco-Russian scheme of 1912 for a Trans-Persian Railway came to nothing. When it is at some future time constructed it should be in a greater measure under British control. In May, 1902, Lord Ronaldshay had told the Society all about the Nushki-Seistan route; in 1916 Sir Hugh Barnes, writing in the *Indiaman*, urged the Government of India to build the Nushki-Seistan Railway, and in February, 1919, Colonel Webb Ware, in an admirable lecture, enhanced by a long and lucid speech from Sir Hugh Barnes, told a crowded audience how India had just connected itself by rail with Persia. Thanks to that connection, and to Brigadier-General Sir Percy M. Sykes and the troops under his command, Kirman was purged of Hun propagandists, and Bolshevism was checkmated on the Trans-Caspian Railway.

The recent tragic events in Afghanistan remind us of the close ties which unite that kingdom to India. It was in 1900 that Mr. John

Murray, subsequently a member of the Central Asian Society, brought out the Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan's autobiography, and in 1907 Sir Mortimer Durand selected that same potentate—a ruler whom Sir West Ridgeway once classed among the greatest men of his day—as the subject for his lecture. As one who had been in Kabul with Sir F. Roberts, and instrumental in placing Abdur Rahman Khan on the throne, and in 1893 the head of a mission sent to him by the Viceroy of India, no one was better qualified than Sir Mortimer to speak of an Ameer who inaugurated in 1880 a rule and policy at Kabul which has aided us in this momentous war. The death of the Ameer Habibullah is to be deplored, and might well have been made by the Central Asian Society an occasion for demonstrating and publicly recognizing the boon which forty years of stable government in Kabul has proved to be for the British Empire. If there is a Society that knows Afghanistan it is the Central Asian. All the Trans-Caspian territory and the Khanates are at this moment at a loose end, and a "mandate" is wanted to gather them into that fold which recognizes Great Britain as its shepherd. Men, however, throw away their chances. Afghanistan is no mean instrument, and her patience merits reward. Russia must be coerced, says Sir George Buchanan. The compass which tightens from Archangel, Omsk, the Volga, and the Don may tighten too from Kabul and Herat.

As may be supposed, the Baghdad Railway has been well discussed within the "Central Asian" walls, by none more effectively than by M. Chéradame in May, 1911; and, indeed, the fertile topic of railways converging on India has been dealt with there by Colonels Picot and Beresford, Mr. Lynch, Mr. C. D. Black, and others, while Mr. Percival Landon, Mr. F. D. Harford, Mr. A. Boddam Taylor, Mr. E. T. A. Wigram, Mr. Demetrius Boulger, and Sir Thomas Holdich, have made us familiar with Mesopotamia. Two bulwarks of the Indian Empire, Baluchistan on the west and Burma on the east, were respectively dealt with by men who had ruled them, viz., Colonel C. E. Yate and Sir Frederick Fryer, while India's power for offence and defence found able exponents in Sir Edwin Collen and Sir Thomas Holdich. Chinese Turkestan drew old memories from Sir Thomas Gordon and Sir Henry Trotter, while Sir George Macartney favoured us with his more recent experiences. On Asiatic Turkey and Asia Minor we heard the late Sir Mark Sykes, Mr. W. J. Childs, and Sir W. M. Ramsay, and with China, Mongolia, Japan, and Siberia we spent some pleasant and instructive afternoons. Commander O. Locker-Lampson and his armoured cars, ranging from Archangel to Erzeroum, held an audience spell-bound, and finally Mr. J. O. P. Bland, with General Sir Edmund Barrow, who was Sir Alfred Gaselee's Chief of the Staff at Peking in 1900, in the chair, paved the way for the restoration to China of the astro-

nomical instruments taken away from Peking by the Germans in 1900, and since then kept at Potsdam. It was my old friend, Colonel E. St. C. Pemberton, R.E., an ex-councillor of the Central Asian Society, who on December 11, 1900, in the discussion which followed Mr. Bland's address, brought forward the question of making Germany disgorge. He had seen the instruments at Potsdam about 1907, and again later seen the desolate sites on the walls of Peking. The subject was well ventilated at that meeting of the Central Asian Society, and not in vain. Suffice it to mention that *The Times* of December 12, 1918, took especial notice of what General Barrow and Colonel Pemberton had said on the 11th to the "Central Asian" meeting, and strongly endorsed their view that the instruments ought unquestionably to be restored. As I write, *The Times* of March 19 lies before me, and says: "The German Government has decided to return to China the astronomical instruments which were transported from Peking to Germany in 1900. Negotiations have been opened for the shipping of the instruments to China.—*Wireless Press* (through the wireless stations of the German Government)."

A very able journalist, who has attended all our lectures for years, wrote very recently to me: "In my opinion, the Society is more alive to-day than ever before," and this success for China bears this out. During the eighteen years of its life the Society owes its success to an able series of Chairmen of Council: Sir T. E. Gordon, Sir F. E. Younghusband, Sir V. Chirol, Lord Lamington, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir T. H. Holdich, Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Mortimer Durand, Sir Henry Trotter, and finally Lord Carnock. The Honorary President of the Society is the Earl Curzon of Kedleston. Illustration by lantern slides has accompanied most of the lectures, and in this connection the services of Mr. Simpson, of the Royal Geographical Society, have been most helpful.

The war just concluded has introduced thousands of male and female subjects of his Britannic Majesty to Asiatic countries which under ordinary conditions they never expected to visit. It is hoped that many of these will join the Central Asian Society on their return to England, and thus bring double grist to the Society's mill—the grist of brain for the lecture-field and the grist of funds for the production and maintenance of a "Central Asian Journal" such as the Society may regard with pride.



## APPENDIX II.: THE NUSHKI RAILWAY

*To the Hon. Secretary, Central Asian Society.*

THE KING'S HOUSE,

LYNDHURST,

*June 24, 1919.*

SIR,

I see that in the discussion on Colonel Webb Ware's paper on the Nushki Railway Sir H. Barnes remarked on the fact that nothing was apparently done about this line after Lord Curzon left India in 1905 until 1916. Perhaps I may mention that this was not due to any lack of interest in the matter on the part of the late Lord Minto, who personally visited Nushki and so improved the conditions of the Chagai Political Agency as to secure the long service there of Colonel Webb Ware, which has done so much for the development of the Nushki-Seistan trade route.

The real obstacle was the attitude of the military authorities in India, who opposed vigorously any improvements to this route. A motor-car was taken over into Seistan, and the experience so gained showed how easy it was to make the track suitable for motor traffic.

It was then proposed to remove some of the worst stones, and to ramp the sides of the dry nalas to facilitate motor carriage. To this the Army Department objected, as they did to the construction of wells. They also objected to the railhead being taken some sixteen miles to the west of the Nushki gorge to secure a healthier site with better water and grazing and some chance of cultivation. Their idea was that nothing should be done to improve communications there, lest the Russians might come to Seistan and take advantage of such improvements in an advance on India. If Seistan was to be supported, this should be done from Bandar Abbas. This attitude, which was apparently approved in Whitehall, made it very difficult for the Indian Government to do much, but quietly Colonel Webb Ware was helped to improve matters.

In fact, the route has always been advanced in the teeth of departmental difficulties. Two telegraph officers at different times reported that it would be impossible to construct a telegraph line over it, owing to physical and telegraphic conditions. In 1903 advantage was taken of the necessity for rapid communication with the MacMahon Mission to carry a field wire to Dalbandin, which, to the

surprise of the experts, was found to work splendidly. Wells were discovered on the route, and beyond Nasratabad Ispe, and eventually with the help of Sir A. Hardinge at Teheran the line was linked up with the Central Persian line long before this could be carried through to Karachi. It was the success of this venture in telegraph construction that paved the way for the railway, which most of us then desired, and which we are all now glad to see an accomplished fact. It may yet be the means of regenerating Persia and furthering through trade to India.

It is a curious thing that Lord Kitchener regarded it as impossible that Indian troops should ever be employed in Mesopotamia and Persia, and he was prepared to allow both Russia and Germany to come down to the head of the Gulf on Kruger's policy of letting the snake show its head so that we could hit it from the sea. The cost to India in naval arrangements to meet such a condition of affairs would have been ruinous. Happily it remained for Lord Kitchener before he died to add to his many splendid services to the Empire by abandoning this old policy of his, though his attitude while in India made it difficult to carry out the various political measures in the Gulf and Southern Persia which so materially assisted our action in those tracts during the war.

It is hardly necessary now to point out that the despatch of Indian troops to the Gulf and Mesopotamia helped the late Amir H.M. Habibullah Khan to fulfil his treaty obligations with us, and so in all probability prevented an invasion of India by Afghans, border Pathans, and the wilder tribes of Persia, led and stiffened by Germans and Turks, which in the conditions prevailing in 1915 must have had disastrous results. The Afghan incursion since the murder of our faithful ally clearly shows what would have happened then if he had failed to keep faith with us.

It is interesting that the map which the late Amir used during the negotiations in 1905 at Kabul showed the Afghan border close to the Helmand as originally drawn, and not as demarcated by Sir Henry MacMahon.

Yours faithfully,  
LOUIS DANE.

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